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The Migration of Flemish Weavers to England in the Fourteenth Century: the Economic Influence and Transfer of Skills 1331-1381

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Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of Abbreviations

Archives départementales du Nord	ADN
Calendar of Close Rolls	*CCR*
Calendar of Fine Rolls	*CFR*
Calendar of Letter Books	*Letter Books*
Calendar of Patent Rolls	*CPR*
Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls	*Memoranda Rolls*
Essex Record Office	ERO
London Metropolitan Archives	LMA
Norfolk Record Office	NRO
Parliament Rolls of Medieval England	*PROME*
Rijksarchief Gent	RAG
Stadsarchief Brugge	SAB
Stadsarchief Gent	SAG
The National Archives	TNA

Introduction

The central object of this thesis deals with the fundamental historical problems of migration which still today remain unresolved and dominate social and political debates. This will be based on a very concrete case study of historical migration of Flemish textile workers to England which touch upon essential aspects (social, political, economic and cultural factors) behind the complex process of emigration and immigration. This historical example is drawn from one of the most dramatic periods in the history of the former Low Countries and the British Isles, the county of Flanders and England in particular, the 14th century. A period of fundamental social (Black Death), political (warfare), and economic (mass devaluations and production crises) upheaval and profound changes.

Of course, since Antiquity, cities have always represented centres of economic and administrative activity, they are characterised by more employment opportunities, the hope of greater social mobility, more freedom of thought and actions.[1] For these reasons they continue to attract people from the outside. The social backgrounds of people migrating to cities vary, according to the geographic distance and the duration of stay. Unskilled labour came from the surrounding rural areas and tended to be only seasonal. Conversely skilled artisans migrated from afar and established themselves for longer periods or permanently. They were generally a part of more exclusive social networks based on trade and administrative relations which connected different cities.[2] They were also a medium of diffusion of new skills and thus more likely to make impact on the development of political, spatial, economic and cultural

[1] Clark Peter, *European cities and towns*, Oxford, 2009, p. 10.
[2] Winter Anne, 'Population and Migration: European and Chinese experiences compared', In: Clark Peter, *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, Oxford, 2013, p. 407.

dimensions of cities where they migrated. Urban migration was mostly controlled by local authorities and to a lesser extent by supra-local governing bodies. They tended to restrict immigration in order to limit potentially destabilising effects for the native population, but sometimes, institutions actively tried to attract immigrants, in particular, certain kinds of skilled artisans.[3] These active immigration policies to attract skilled labour were spurred by high mortality rates. Until the 18th century, the mortality rates were so high, that the only way to maintain the increase in population and the economic growth of the city, was through immigration.[4] Such was the case of Late Medieval and Early Modern England, where foreign merchants and skilled artisans who contributed to the economic development, enjoyed legal and fiscal privileges by the government.[5] In this study, I will focus on one of the first well documented policies encouraging the immigration of skilled artisans, more precisely on Edward III's (1327-1377) invitation to Flemish textile workers in 1331 and their economic and social impact on the cities of London, Colchester and Great Yarmouth.

The History of Flemish Immigration to England and Structure of the Thesis

The English crown had first felt the need to consider a more systematic policy towards those living within its borders but born overseas at the end of the thirteenth century. In 1294, the relative harmony that had characterised the relationship between the houses of Plantagenet and

[3] Ibid. p. 411.
[4] Lucassen Leo, Willems Wim, *Living in the City: Urban Institutions in the Low Countries 1200-2010*, Routledge, 2012, p. 7; Anne Winter, 'Population and Migration', p. 403.
[5] Numerous are Works that deal with the impact of alien merchants and Huguenots in England from the 14th until the 17th century; Beardwood, *Alien Merchants in England, their legal and economic position, 1350-77* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931); Goose Nigel, *Immigrants in Tudor and early Stuart England*, Sussex Academic Press, Brighton, 2005; Luu Lien, *Immigrants and Industries of London 1500-1700*, Ashgate, London, 2005.

Capet for several decades came to an end and disagreements about the feudal status of Aquitaine escalated into open Anglo-French warfare.[6] As a result, the government was forced to address the potential threat to national security posed by the significant amounts of French people resident in England. Its response was uncompromising: the property of all Frenchmen, as well as those under the suzerainty of the French king, such as Flemings and Bretons, was confiscated. Restorations were allowed only in selected cases and after years of often painful proceeding. Causing severe economic disruption across the whole realm, the campaign revealed how deeply rooted into English society the foreign visitors really were and inspired the crown to be more considerate when dealing with the issue in the future. When war with France broke out again in 1328, the government still took actions against French interests in England, but also issued so-called letters of protection to ameliorate the harshness of the measures for as many people as possible. Probably under pressure from the localities, Westminster ceased to consider immigrant residents solely as a security threat and came to appreciate the economic benefits which many of them could bring to English society. Even though new hostilities with France from 1337 onwards presented the crown with much more serious concerns than the campaigns in 1294 and 1328 had done, the consequences for the French, and for other immigrants, in England were minimal. They would continue to be for the remainder of the Hundred Years' War.[7]

In concert with its attempts to preserve and safeguard the immigrant contribution to the English economy, the government also embarked on a more active immigration policy. From

[6] For the wars between England and France during this period, see Malcolm G.A. Vale, *The Origins of the Hundred Years War: The Angevin Legacy, 1250-1340* (Oxford, 1996).
[7] Bart Lambert and W. Mark Ormrod, 'A Matter of Trust: the Royal Regulation of England's French Residents during Wartime, 1294-1377', *Historical Research* (forthcoming 2016).

the 1330s onwards, Edward III tried to attract skilled artisans from abroad in order to boost the development of local industries, most notably the cloth industry. The same letters of protection that were used to exempt alien residents from the effects of the wartime measures were now granted either to individual cloth workers or to groups of weavers who came from Flanders, Brabant and, occasionally, Zeeland, regions with a well-established high-quality drapery, and who wished to ply their trade in England. Weavers William and Hanekin de Brabant in York in 1336.[8] Fifteen Zeelanders with no specified place of residence in 1337.[9] Dyer Nicholas Appelman and his men in Winchester in 1337.[10] Three weavers from Diest in Brabant, exercising their trade in St Ives (Huntingdonshire), in 1338.[11] In 1337, a statute was passed that invited textile workers from all 'strange lands' and promised them all the legal franchises they would need.[12] Here, too, evidence suggests that the crown's policy, if not initiated at the request of the local communities in the first place, at least received the approval of a substantial part of the English population. In 1333, the commons in parliament petitioned Edward to protect the foreign cloth workers from arrest and prosecution, so that they could 'teach the people of this land to work the cloth'.[13] Not everyone within the realm was as enthusiastic as the parliamentary representatives though. In 1337, the king had to order the citizens of London to stop injuring foreign cloth workers.[14] In 1339, a similar proclamation was issued.[15] In 1344, the crown even threatened to send those Londoners who were still attacking Flemish weavers to Newgate

[8] *Calendar of Patent Rolls* [hereafter cited as *CPR*], *1334-8*, 341.
[9] *CPR, 1334-8,* 431.
[10] *CPR, 1334-8*, 500.
[11] *CPR, 1338-40*, 13; As the cloth fair was still held in St Ives, this place had probably attracted more textile workers from the Low Countries than only these three weavers.
[12] *Statutes of the Realm*, i, 281.
[13] *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. C. Given-Wilson et al. (16 vols, Woodbridge, 2005) [hereafter cited as *PROME*], iv, 191.
[14] *Letter Book F*, ed. Sharpe, 190.
[15] *Calendar of Close Rolls* [hereafter cited as *CCR*], *1339-41*, 103.

prison.[16] Clearly, the foreign guests were not as welcome in the capital as they were in the rest of England.[17] London's resistance would not lead Edward to abandon his policy, however. Protections for Flemish and Brabantine artisans continued throughout the 1340s.[18] In 1351, the government would even step up its efforts to attract foreign skill in response to developments on the other side of the English Channel when thousands of textile workers were banished from Flanders because of their involvement in the revolt against the count. Our main focus will be indeed on these banished immigrants after 1351 who, for the most part, chose to take the refuge in England.

Therefore, in first chapter we will deal with the push factors for the Flemish immigrants and explain the reasons for them to leave their country. Indeed, I will present the turbulent political and social situation in the county of Flanders from the end of the thirteenth century until 1350s and what led to the revolts and the exile of Flemish textile workers to England. The main focus will be on legal tools possessed by the comital authorities that they used for mass expulsions of people. Second chapter will present the number of exiled immigrants in London, Colchester and Great Yarmouth. Apart from their numbers, this chapter examines the immigrants' occupations, gender, places where they settled within the urban areas and to some extent their profile before the exile. Chapter three takes a wider look into social relationships and networks of the immigrant community in urban areas. Chapter four looks into the involvement of the Flemish community during the events of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. As we will see, the Flemings were ferociously massacred in few places between 14-16 June 1381 and this has been

[16] *CCR, 1343-6*, 486.
[17] Outside London, only the weavers of York are known to have protested against the immigration of cloth workers from the Low Countries, in 1342. TNA, SC 8/238/11890A.
[18] See, for example, the grant to John de Bruyn from Ghent, making woollen cloth in Abingdon (Berkshire), in 1343. *CPR, 1343-5*, 115.

a part of few studies. However, with some new findings from various judicial documents, this chapter sheds some new light on these events and clarifies the reasons for the mob to attack the Flemings. Chapter five examines economic activity of Flemish immigrants and their influence on the English textile industry. In the first place, the main focus is on the economic activities of the exiles in Flanders during the 1340s, a decade before the banishment. While the remainder of the chapter looks into their involvement in the wool and cloth trade after their arrival to England from 1351. Chapter six focuses on the presence and occupations of Flemish women in England. Completely new evidence will allow us to examine that the immigrant women both single and married had a very active role in the English economy during the fourteenth century.

Historiography

Flemish migration to England in fourteenth century has been a part of several studies on economic or social history where it was only incidentally mentioned. The most common debate was about their economic impact on English textile history and it lasts since the seventeenth century. Already in 1655, Thomas Fuller painted a vivid picture of the newcomers' arrival in his *Church History of Britain*. 'Happy the yeoman's house', the clergyman concluded, 'into which one of these Dutchmen [sic] did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them'.[19] Passing a far more favourable judgment than on most other aspects of his reign,[20] scholars of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century saw in Edward's programme the forerunner of later policies, intent on developing local manufacture and fostering export.

[19] Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain: From the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year M.DC.XLVIII* (6 vols., Oxford, 1845) [hereafter Fuller, *Church History*], II, p. 286.
[20] May McKisack, 'Edward III and the historians', *History*, 45 (1960), pp. 1-15.

Adopting the phraseology of Friedrich List, the influential political economist William Ashley credited his government as the first of many European regimes to prefer the creation of 'productive powers', or the causes of wealth, over that of 'values of exchange', or wealth itself.[21] William Cunningham, too, was struck how closely later efforts to boost new industries followed on the lines laid down by the fourteenth-century monarch.[22] Even George Unwin, one of Edward's fiercest critics, questioned the motivations behind the move, which he thought were of a diplomatic rather than an economic nature, but not its outcome.[23] Across the Channel, historians were equally impressed by the effectiveness of Edward III's measures. 'The English king gave them [the Flemings] asylum', the eminent Henri Pirenne wrote in his *Histoire de Belgique*, 'and the counties of Kent and Suffolk [...] became the cradle of an industry that would compete with Flanders half a century later'.[24]

Lather observers were more sceptical in their appraisal of the effects the influx of workers from the Low Countries may have had on the development of the English textile industry. An authority on the late medieval Flemish drapery, Pirenne's student Henri De Sagher devoted an article to the subject in 1926 and concluded that 'traditional historiography has attached an importance to immigration out of all proportion with its real role'. 'Nowhere in England', did he go on, 'can we discern a decisive influence on the future of the trade'.[25] In

[21] William Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory. Part II: the End of the Middle Ages* (10th edn., London, 1925), p. 195.
[22] William Cunningham, 'The commercial policy of Edward III', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 4 (1889), pp. 202-3; William Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages* (5th edn., Cambridge, 1922), pp. 308-9.
[23] George Unwin, 'Introduction', in: George Unwin (ed.), *Finance and Trade under Edward III* (London, 1962), pp. xviii-ix.
[24] Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique des Origines à Nos Jours* (5th edn., 4 vols., Brussels, 1928), IV, p. 325.
[25] Henri E. De Sagher, 'L'immigration des tisserands flamands et brabançons en Angleterre sous Edouard III', in: *Mélanges d'Histoire Offerts à Henri Pirenne* (Brussels, 1926) [hereafter De Sagher, 'Immigration des tisserands'], pp. 123, 125.

her 1959 overview of the fourteenth century, May McKisack considered the arrival of foreigners as a symptom, rather than a primary cause of expansion.[26] Writing on Yorkshire's woollen and worsted industries in 1965, Herbert Heaton stated that the Flemish presence in the county's medieval cloth manufacture was small and, with its chronology not matching that of the development of textile production, its influence negligible.[27] In his Medieval English Economy, Jim Bolton only copy-pasted Heaton's conclusions.[28] Lawrence Poos came to the same conclusions for Essex in 2004.[29] Looking at the matter from the perspective of immigrants' contributions to the English economy during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in 2005, Nigel Goose called the importance of foreign immigration for the establishment of the English textile industry in the fourteenth century wildly exaggerated and not to be compared with that of the low price of wool and the general availability of labour.[30]

One of the main obstacles that has stood in the way of every attempt at a critical assessment of the impact of Flemish immigration on the late medieval English cloth industry is the complete absence of numbers to fall back on.[31] Moreover, none of the aforementioned studies were detailed enough make such strong hypotheses and widely confirm or dispute the influence of the Flemish immigrants. Furthermore, all of the authors mostly based their conclusions on the chronicles and edited sources from London and thus completely overlooked

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[26] May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959) [hereafter McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*], p. 368.
[27] Herbert Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries from the Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1965) [hereafter Heaton, *Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries*], p. 17.
[28] James L. Bolton, *The Meideval English Economy 1100-1500*, London, 1980, p. 286.
[29] Lawrence R. Poos, *A Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex 1350-1525* (Cambridge, 2004) [hereafter Poos, *Rural Society*], p. 70.
[30] Nigel Goose, 'Immigrants and English economic development in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', in: Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (eds.), *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Brighton, 2005) [hereafter Goose, 'Immigrants'], pp. 153-4.
[31] De Sagher, 'Immigration des tisserands', p. 115; McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 367.

the evidence on the other side of the English Channel. Tracing the immigrants in Flanders and establishing their profile and financial potential, prior to their arrival in England, was completely ignored. Therefore, by combining both the archival material from the Continental Europe and England the main purpose of this study will be to shed new light on the economic contribution of the Flemish immigrants in England. It will be an attempt to answer the following research questions: What was the profile of the Flemish immigrant, and how numerous were they? How did Flemish weavers transfer their skills to the English? What was the process of that transfer? Did political, economic and social events on the local level have any influence on the diffusion of skills? Where did the resistance come from guild organisations, entrepreneurs, and the like? Did their influence transcend the economic transfer of skills, and what may have been the impact on the cultural level, such as donations to local churches, funding of or integration into existing religious confraternities, hospitals, charitable institutions, etc? Indeed, this study will show that the number of immigrants was a lot higher than it was previously thought and their position in terms of capital and skills in a lot better place than their English counterparts.

Methodology and Sources

A particular feature of my work is the integration of English and Continental sources and I have worked extensively in the archives in the UK, France and Belgium. More precisely, I worked in The National Archives in Kew (Greater London), General Archives of the Realm in Brussels and in more localised archives such as Archives departementales du Nord in Lille, Essex Record Office in Chelmsford, Norfolk Record Office in Norwich, London Metropolitan Archives as well as Municipal and State Archives in the cities of Ghent and Bruges. The main

localities of this study in England are London, Colchester and Great Yarmouth. They were not chosen randomly, but rather carefully because of the incredibly high survival rate of their local records. More precisely, their judicial records, borough court rolls in particular, which are the cornerstone of this study.

It appears thus natural to start with borough court records of Colchester and Great Yarmouth. To maintain law and order, the bailiffs of Colchester had two instances of the borough court at their disposal: the court of pleas and the hundred court. The court of pleas dealt with private litigation concerning debt, detention of chattels, breach of contract and trespass or cases of violation of private property and physical aggression that fell short of felony. Minor crimes, including night wandering, the carrying of weapons and all kinds of police work, such as fines for prostitution, making and selling ale and bread against the assize, were brought to the hundred court.[32] In Great Yarmouth, the borough court was organized almost in the same manner, it was just that its instances bore different names than Colchester. The exact equivalent of the court of pleas in Colchester, for Great Yarmouth, would be the so called petty and great pleas (*querele* and *placita* in Latin), while the equivalent of the hundred court would be the court leet.[33] The important thing that distinguishes the Great Yarmouth borough court from Colchester's is the presence of the particulars of the customs accounts. Indeed, imports and exports from this port town were kept by the local authorities who probably copied what was enrolled for the royal administration. As the latter do not survive at all for the period of this

[32] For more details on the work of borough court check: Richard H. Britnell, 'Colchester courts and court records, 1310-1525', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 17 (1986), pp. 133-40.
[33] For extensively detailed description of the borough court records of Great Yarmouth check: J. D. Rodziewicz, Order and Society: Great Yarmouth 1366-1381, Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of East Anglia, 2008.

study, the local records in Great Yarmouth represent an invaluable source for medieval England as a whole.

The period of the study was chosen after the exile of numerous textile workers from Flanders in 1351 until 1381 when the Flemish community was massacred in few places in England by the mob during the Peasants' Revolt. For this thirty-year period the number of surviving rolls in Colchester and Great Yarmouth is quite voluminous. As can be seen in the table, for Colchester, there are 13 surviving rolls, containing each eight to fifty-seven membranes. Great Yarmouth borough court was even more voluminous as its survival rate accounts to 23 rolls containing on average 20 membranes for the thirty-year period (1351-1381). The standard membrane, be it for Colchester court of pleas or petty and great pleas in Great Yarmouth, contained entries for the names of the plaintiffs, the type of plea that was brought to the court, the names of the defendants and the names of those acting as pledges for the prosecution. Additional information could be included, such as the names of attorneys, the amount of debt, the damages claimed by the plaintiff and the background of the plea as well as legal tools to force the defendant to appear in the court such as distraint.[34] One membrane (recto-verso) contained at least 40 cases. The membranes of the leet court usually contained the names of the capital pledges, who were actually those who pronounced the fines to the residents of Great Yarmouth. Bellow them, there were the names of those residents who were supposed to attend the leet session but had not shown up. Only then followed fines for misdemeanors such as breaking the assize of bread and ale, night wandering, physical aggression[35] and forestalling[36].

[34] Rodziewicz, Great Yarmouth, p. 25-26.
[35] Physical aggression in Great Yarmouth was usually entered as hamsoken, which meant that the attack happened in the house of the victim.
[36] Forestalling was intercepting the goods on its way into the market or just trading before the market opened. See Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, p. 131-133.

The court rolls for Colchester were transcribed and translated to some extent by the former mayor of Colchester William Gurney Benham in four different volumes.[37] However, some information from the manuscripts was omitted and in this case they can only serve as calendars. Therefore, where Benham's translations correspond to the manuscript, I referred to his editions, while in cases where I refer to the manuscript from the Essex Record Office, it means that Benham omitted valuable information for this study. In case of Great Yarmouth, there is no calendar with transcriptions nor translations.

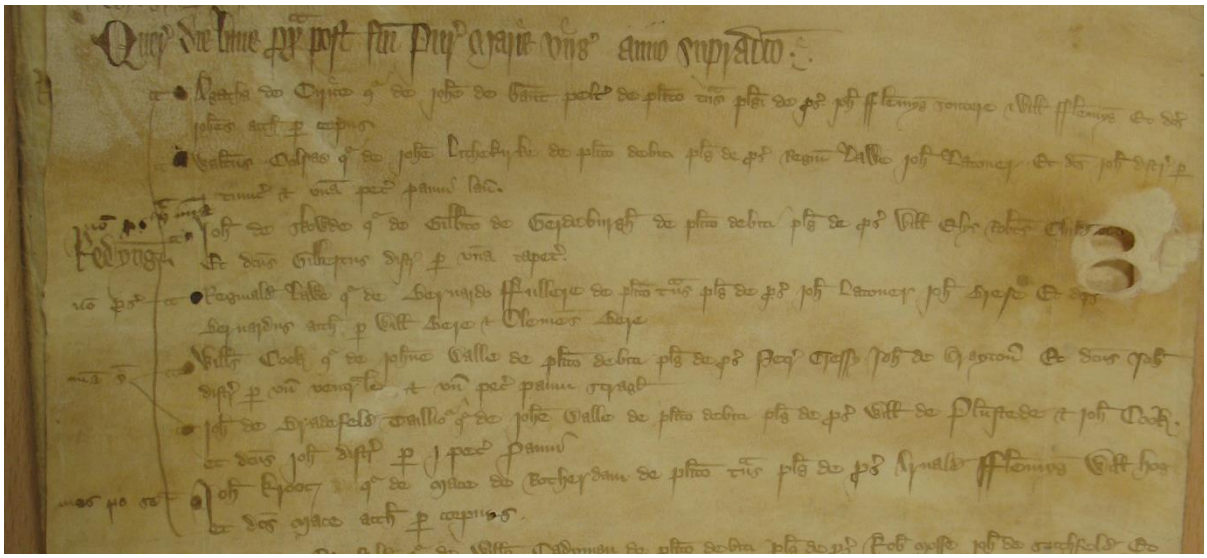
Table 1.1: Number of Court rolls in Colchester

Court Roll number	**Year/Term**	**Number of membranes**
CR 9	1351-52	8 m.
CR 10	1353-54	14 m.
CR 11	1356-57	14 m.
CR 12	1559-60	19 m.
CR 13	1360-61	5 m.
CR 14	1364-65	14 m.
CR 15	1366-67	18 m.
CR 16	1372-73	17 m.
CR 17	1374-75	18 m.
CR 18	1376-77	20 m.
CR 19	1378-79	28 m.
CR 20	1379-80	31 m.
CR 21	1381-82	57 m.

Source: ERO, D/B 5 CR 9-21

[37] Benham, W.G., ed., *The Court Rolls of the borough of Colchester*, Volume 1 (1310-1352), 1921; Benham, W. G., ed., *The Court Rolls of the borough of Colchester*, Volume 2 (1353-1367), 1938; Benham, W. G., ed., *The Court Rolls of the borough of Colchester*, Volume 3 (1372-1379), 1941; Benham, W. G., unpublished volume, *The Court Rolls of the borough of Colchester*, Volume 4 (1379-1383), 1941.

Photo 1: Session of the *querele* pleas in 1355 including the cases between some Flemish exiles



Source: NRO Y /C 4/ 75 m. 2v.

Table 1.2: Number of Court rolls in Great Yarmouth

Court Roll number	Year/Term	Number of membranes
CR 72	1351-52	11 m.
CR 73	1352-53	14 m.
CR 74	1353-54	19 m.
CR 75	1354-55	15 m.
CR 76	1358-59	15 m.
CR 77	1359-60	14 m.
CR 78	1360-61	15 m.
CR 79	1361-62	24 m.
CR 80	1363-64	24 m.
CR 81	1366-67	26 m.
CR 82	1367-68	26 m.
CR 83	1369-70	18 m.
CR 84	1370-71	17 m.
CR 85	1371-72	18 m.
CR 86	1373-74	18 m.
CR 87	1374-75	21 m.
CR 88	1376-77	13 m.

CR 89	1377-78	14 m.
CR 90	1378-79	17 m.
CR 91	1379-80	16 m.
CR 92	1380-81	14 m.

Source: NRO Y /C 4/ 72-92

In case of London, no similar source as the borough court records has unfortunately survived for the period of this study. The closest legal documents to the borough courts that survive are the so called Memoranda Rolls, that run from 1323 until 1482, kept at London Metropolitan Archives and entirely translated in six volumes.[38] Given the size of the city, the judicial records were divided into several courts that dealt with different problems related to the property, wills, litigation etc. The Husting court of London handled cases related to land and services. The Sheriff's court dealt with personal actions, such as debt, trespass, covenant and the like, therefore very similar as the borough courts of Colchester and Great Yarmouth. While the Mayor's court had the same actions, just slightly wider jurisdiction than the Sheriff's court. In order that the law officers of these courts might have precedents to guide them, excerpts of certain pleadings were compiled into the Plea and Memoranda Rolls.[39] These precedents were sometimes recorded as the whole case from the three courts, or just as judgement that was pronounced. Even though, the Memoranda Rolls are not as voluminous and detailed as the borough courts of Colchester, numerous cases related to Flemish community that settled in London might be found in there. Another valuable source from London that was used for this study were the so called Letter Books of London. These ran chronologically from 1275 until 1496 and are kept in seven different books named in alphabetical order from letter A to letter

[38] *Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall,* A. H. Thomas and Philip E. Jones (eds), (6 vols; Cambridge, 1926–61).
[39] *Memoranda Rolls I*, p. vii-vii.

L.[40] More economic in character, Letter Books in a way complemented the information recorded in Plea and Memoranda Rolls. They contained such information as writs and returns, political occurrences, proceedings of assemblies, ordinances of crafts, assessments and appointments of civic officers. Everything related to the guild of Flemish weavers in London and some of their economic activities during the second half of the fourteenth century are kept in Letter-Books G and H.

Other judicial documents used for this study were those of the higher jurisdiction courts kept at The National Archives in Kew, the King's Bench and the Justices of Eyre.[41] Serious felony crimes such as homicide, rape, grand theft, abduction or adultery were brought to these two courts.[42] Given the voluminous size of these documents and the impossibility to go through all of them during the length of this study, only selected cases were chosen. This will be examined more in depth in chapters 3 and 4. Borough court records and other judicial sources together with the records of the Crown's chancery were used mostly to determine the social context of the Flemish migration to England. The economic context from these sources was studied only indirectly, as they do mention the types of goods and the amounts of money used for various debt and trespass cases.

More direct sources for the immigrants' involvement in the English economy would be the particulars of the customs and aulnage accounts, both kept at The National Archives.[43] The

[40] *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: A-L*, Reginald R. Sharpe (ed.), (London, 1905).
[41] Richard H. Britnell, 'Colchester courts and court records, 1310-1525', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 17 (1986), pp. 133-40; For the whole explanation of judicial system in fourteenth century see Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities 1300-1348*, pp. 32-44.
[42] TNA, KB 27; KB 29; KB 161; JUST 2; JUST 3;
[43] They are both kept under the records of the exchequer. Customs accounts under the collection E 122 – Particulars of the Customs accounts, while the aulnage accounts under the collection E 101 – Accounts Various.

Aulnager was the inspector of the King appointed to certify the size of the cloth (for the sake of the buyer), that was supposed to be exported. In order to put a seal on the cloth before it was shipped from England, the aulnager cashed in a subsidy of 4d per cloth, and wrote down how much clothes were sold, where they were made and by whom. We will see later that most of the Flemish immigrants were involved either in production or trade in cloth; the particulars of customs and aulnage accounts had actually allowed me to quantify the immigrants' importance for the growth of English economy.

All of the findings in the English sources were constantly compared to the archival material held in Belgium and France. First important documents were those held in the general archives of the realm in Brussels and the ones in archives départementales du Nord in Lille. These consisted of various charters, preserved in the comital chamber of the accounts, that recorded numerous sentences and orders pronounced by the count. They range from the year 801-1700 and they are kept under the first series (1ste reeks) collection in Brussels and under série B in Lille.[44] For both collections of charters, there are rather good inventories.[45] From the second half of the fourteenth century, some charters were actually the sentences of the banishment of rebels outside of the county, as will be discussed in chapter one. These are of our main interest as most of them contained a nominatim lists of people who were supposed to leave the county of Flanders for a certain period of time. Apart from the aforementioned collections, I used as

[44] General Archives of the Realm, Brussels, Oorkonden van Vlaanderen, 1ste reeks; ADN B, 263, 1566, 1567, 1595, 1596.

[45] For charters in General Archives of the Realm in Brussels see: Stobbeleir, Inventaire provisoire des Chartes de Flandre 1ère série. IXe-XVIIe siècle; For Lille: Desplanque, Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieurs à 1790, Nord, Archives civiles, Série B, Chambre des Comptes de Lille n° 1561 à 1680, Tome II, Danel, Lille, 1872.

well various edited cartularies from this period which contain similar information.[46] At the first instance, the Flemish names from the English sources after 1351 were compared with the names from the lists. Once I had found the names that are a perfect match, and this would include only those with the same name, and occupation in both the English and Flemish sources, other sources in Flanders would be investigated for the period before the banishment in order to find out more about the profile of the newcomers in England. It would include the city accounts of Ghent and Bruges for the period 1340-1351, where the information about political and economic profile of the immigrants before the banishment can indirectly be found. Those for Ghent were transcribed and edited for the period of the study, while those for Bruges were used as manuscripts.[47] More direct information about the economic activities of Flemish exiled textile workers before the banishment was also found in the incredible collection of documents related to the Flemish history of drapery compiled by Espinas and Pirenne.[48] Some other sources such as testamentary evidence in London, or local courts of Ghent (Keure and Gedele) were also used, however their description fitted better in chapter two and chapter 3.

One question still remains. How can one recognize if a person recorded in the English source was Flemish in order to compare it with the lists of exiles? There are four different ways of identifying the immigrants from the Low Countries in the English sources. In some cases, such as those of Walter le Baker and John Barat, the Colchester town clerks unambiguously added

[46] *Cartulaire de Louis de Male, Comte de Flandre. Decreten van den Grave Lodewyck van Vlaenderen, 1348 à 1358,* Thierry de Limburg-Stirum (ed.), (2 vols., Bruges, 1898); *Cartulaire Historique et Généalogique des Artevelde,* De Pauw Napoleon (ed.), (Brussels, 1920).
[47] *De Rekeningen der Stad Gent: Tijdvak van Jacob Van Artevelde 1336-1349,* De Pauw Napoleon and Julius Vuylsteke (eds.), (3 vols., Ghent, 1874-85); *Stads en Baljuwsrekeningen van Gent 1351-1364,* eds. A. van Werveke and H. van Werveke, Brussels, 1970.
[48] *Recueil des documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandre,* eds. G. Espinas and H. Pirenne, Bruxelles 1909, vol. 1,1-1,3.

that the litigant was Flemish.[49] In other cases, the plaintiff or the defendant was given the family name 'Flemyng', or 'Braban(ter)'. A third group consisted of those whose surnames referred to a place within the Low Countries, such as Everard van Deste, or Diest, or Heyne van Cortrike, better known as Courtrai.[50] A fourth category, including John van Loo, John van Neke and John van Wynd, had family names preceded by the typically Middle Dutch prefix 'van'.[51] Finally, some litigants, such as Clays Seger, Copin Stuk or Lieven Cornelis,[52] went by forenames characteristic of the fourteenth-century Low Countries.[53] Probably the most interesting variation of recording is the Flemish forename Copin. It is actually a Flemish diminutive of Jacob. For example Copin Seland, a hosteller and eventually a citizen of London, appears at first by the forename Copin in 1371 as the owner of a tenement in St. Swithin's Lane.[54] In 1378 the scribe records that Jacob Seland alnaged 68 pieces of clothes for export[55], but he reappears in a petition under the name of James when he prays to stop paying the maintenance of some merchants, who were his former guests but got imprisoned in London by the city authorities.[56] As far as women are concerned, in some cases, their surnames are transformed into 'Frowe', probably from Dutch word for woman, *Vrouw*. This is evident in 14th century

[49] ERO, D/B 5, CR 11, m. 3 and CR 14, m. 6, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, pp. 68, 155.
[50] ERO, D/B 5, CR 12, mm. 8, 18, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, pp. 78, 121.
[51] ERO, D/B 5, CR 10, m. 2, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, p. 7.
[52] ERO, D/B 5, CR 10, m. 10, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, p. 22.
[53] Frans Debrabandere, *Verklarend Woordenboek van de Familienamen in België en Noord-Frankrijk* (2 vols., Brussels, 1992) I, pp. 274, 296, II, p. 883; Marc Boone, 'Jan, Johan en alleman: voornaamgeving bij de Gentse ambachtslieden (14de-15de eeuw), symptoom van een groepsbewustzijn?', in: J. De Zutter, Leen Charles, A. Capiteyn (eds.), *Qui Valet Ingenio. Liber amicorum Johan Decavele* (Ghent, 1996), pp. 39-62; Guy Dupont, 'Van Copkin, over Coppin naar Jacob. De relatie tussen de voornaamsvorm en de leeftijd van de naamdrager in het Middelnederlands op basis van administratieve bronnen voor het grafschap Vlaanderen, einde 14de- midden 16de eeuw', in: *Naamkunde*, Vol. 33, 2001, pp. 111-218.
[54] *Letter Books G*, p. 292
[55] John Oldland, Clothmaking in London 1270-1550, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2003, p. 85
[56] *Calendar Of Close rolls 1369-1374*, p. 260

Southwark.[57] However, the scribes across London Bridge were not completely unfamiliar to it. On 21 July 1365, Katherine van Ordingham was committed to prison for assaulting the constable and beadle of Dowgate Ward and three weeks later when it was confirmed that she will stay at Newgate Prison, her surname is entered as 'Frowe'.[58]In the latter case, the scribes probably heard the Latin version of Jacob and directly transformed it to James in the source. The names of Flemish immigrants in the present work were used as I found them in the English sources and as they were recorded by the English scribes. Thus, Lambert Funderlynde, was not corrected to Lambrecht van der Lynden for example. Surnames that suggest a place name origin, such as Lamkyn van Durdraght, or Margaret van Outraght, which are obviously towns of Dordrecht and Utrecht, were also not corrected. Another note should be made that when I used the word 'Flemings', I used it mostly as a term for those people coming from Flanders, however, at some parts it has been used to define all of the immigrants from the former Low Countries.

[57] M. Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, The Humbleton Press, London, 1996 p. 211, 222; C. Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, 1381. Part 2: Lincolnshire-Westmorland*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, p. 562.
[58] *Memoranda Rolls vol. II*, pp. 39, 41.

Chapter 1: The Politics of Exile of Rebels in Fourteenth-Century Flanders[59]

Introduction

Heinric Stueriboud, a weaver from Ghent, was one of the numerous artisans from the industrial cities of Flanders who in 1359 were recalled from exile for their involvement in riots and rebellions against Count Louis de Male. Heinric had been banished for shouting 'Scietspoele ende vrient!' ('Flying shuttle and friend!'), a subversive speech act which could have caused great troubles in the city[60]. It seems that this interesting Middle Dutch rallying cry, like the more frequently attested shout 'Commune and friend' ('Ghemeente ende vrient'), served as a sign for the Ghent weavers to regroup and to engage in labour strikes and armed demonstrations[61]. This was certainly more than enough to be expelled from the urban community as a dangerous rebel. Stueriboud was one of the people who were pardoned individually by the count in a *rappel de ban* and who had also been banished as an individual. On several occasions, however, large groups of Flemish city-dwellers were also expelled for political reasons as the result of a collective sentence. On 5 October 1351, for instance, hundreds of weavers, fullers and other craftsmen were jointly exiled from Bruges, Ghent and

[59] This chapter is entirely based on the research that was conducted for the recently accepted article for publication in connection with the project IAP City and Society: Jan Dumolyn, Milan Pajic, 'Enemies of the Count and of the City: The Collective Exile of Rebels in Fourteenth Century Flanders', *The Legal History Review*, 84:3-4, 2016.

[60] ADN, B 1596, f° 19 r°.

[61] See P. Rogghé, *Gemeente ende Vrient: Nationale omwentelingen in de 14de eeuw*, Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges, 89 (1952), pp. 101-135; and on rallying cries in general J. Dumolyn, *Criers and Shouters: The Discourse on Radical Urban Rebels in Late Medieval Flanders*, Journal of Social History, 42 (2008), p. 111-137; J. Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, *A Bad Chicken was Brooding: Subversive Speech in Late Medieval Flanders*, Past and Present, 214 (2012), p. 45-86.

Ypres[62]. In the end, at the request of Edward III, King of England, Count Louis offered them pardon in 1359. Some of these artisans returned, among them a weaver from Bruges called Jan de Weerd. Others like Jacop van den Ackere, a weaver from Ypres, or 'John Camber', as another as yet unidentified textile worker from the small town of Diksmuide was called in the English sources, seemed to have settled permanently overseas with their families and continued to practice their trade there[63].

The stereotypical example of a medieval political exile is, of course, Dante Alighieri. In the historical and legal literature the use of large scale banishment to deal with political opponents is almost exclusively associated with the politics of the later medieval Italian city states[64]. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries political opposition within the Italian communes was ever more criminalised and the mass expulsion of internal enemies became an institutionalised part of urban law and politics, even if this often implied arbitrary justice delivered by exceptional courts[65]. Political exile in the Peninsula has been characterised as 'a function of the contentious process whereby communities struggled internally between alternative visions of social ordering' and as a 'precondition of the formation of popular

[62] *Cartulaire de Louis de Male, Comte de Flandre. Decreten van den Grave Lodewyck van Vlaenderen, 1348 à 1358,* ed. Th. De Limburg-Stirum, Bruges 1898, vol. I, p. 78-9; L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges,* Bruges 1871-1885, vol. II, p. 8-9.
[63] Bruges, *City Archives*, Oud Archief, Groenenboek C f° 111 r°; *Cartulaire Historique et Généalogique des Artevelde,* ed. N. De Pauw, Brussels 1920, p. 719; A. Jamees, *Brugse poorters opgetekend uit de stadsrekeningen, Deel 1: 1281-1421,* Handzame 1974, p. 112; Essex, *Record Office*, D/B CR 13. m. 14; *Memoranda Rolls*, vol. II, p. 116.
[64] On Dante's trial see R. Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: the Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, Berkeley 1982, p. 60-85.
[65] J. Heers, *L'esilio, la vita politica, la società nel Medioevo*, Naples 1995, p. 67-71; F. Ricciardelli, *Exile as Evidence of Civic Identity in Florence in the Time of Dante: Some Examples*, Reti Mediaevali, 5 (2004), p. 1-15; *Escludere per governare. L'esilio politico fra Medioevo e Risorgimento,* ed. F. Di Giannatale, Milan 2011 (see especially Id., *Introduzione*, p. 5-7; G. Milani, *Le ragioni dell'esclusione: definire il nemico pubblico nei comuni italiani*, p. 17-31; F. Ricciardelli, *La modalità dell'esclusione a Firenze nel tardo Medioevo,* p. 32-48.)

communal identity'[66]. As I will show, the same may be said of fourteenth-century Flanders. According to some historians, for instance Christine Shaw, medieval Italian cities were exceptional in this respect, as 'even the great cities of the Low Countries did not have the degree of political independence that gave rise to the kind of contest for power that resulted in the exile of political opponents'[67]. The idea that only in medieval Italy exile was used in a way more or less comparable to classical ostracism is so widespread that even a reputed specialist of medieval criminal law like Claude Gauvard has subscribed to it[68]. But foreign historians cannot be blamed for the lack of interest in political exile in medieval Flanders; this important legal and political phenomenon has never been systematically studied and is only very fragmentarily discussed in older Belgian scholarship[69].

What is generally acknowledged, however, is that during the fourteenth century few other European regions were struck harder by social and political turmoil than the county of Flanders. Tensed relations dominated the relations between the count and his main cities, between the merchant elites and the middle classes of artisans, and between the larger cities and the smaller towns and countryside. Whenever the balance of power tilted, open confrontations broke out, followed by victory or by defeat and repression, which, in turn, justified the next rebellion[70]. A common punishment for collective action was banishment from

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[66] S. J. Milner, Exile, *Rhetoric and the Limits of Civic Republican Discourse*, in: At the Margins: Minority Groups in Pre-Modern Italy, ed. S.J. Milner, Minneapolis 2005, p. 163, 182.
[67] C. Shaw, *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge 2000, p. 5.
[68] C. Gauvard, *Préface*, in: H. Zaremska, *Les bannis au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1996, p. 11; Ead., *« De grace especial », Crime, Etat et societe en France a la fin de Moyen age*, Paris 1991, vol. II, p. 540-549
[69] The most recent but also very brief overview is R. Verbruggen, *Geweld in Vlaanderen: macht en onderdrukking in de Vlaamse steden tijdens de veertiende eeuw*, Bruges 2004, p. 68-69.
[70] On fourteenth-century Flemish social and political struggle in general, see J. Dumolyn and J. Haemers, *'Patterns of Urban Rebellion in Medieval Flanders'*, Journal of Medieval History, 31 (2005), p. 369-393; Verbruggen, *Geweld in Vlaanderen*; M. Boone, '*Armes, courses et assemblées et commocions. Les gens de métiers et et l'usage de la violence dans la société urbaine flamande à la fin du moyen-âge*, Revue du Nord, 395 (2005), p. 7-33; Id., *Le comté de Flandre dans le long XIVe siècle :*

the city or from the entire county, either temporarily or for life. A mitigation of the capital punishment, sending those politically defeated into exile, partially transferred social and political tensions abroad and allowed the victorious party to restore order, although sometimes only until the return of the exiles under new political conditions. After the revolt of 1302 and especially after the subsequent episodes of intense social and political struggles during the years 1323-1328, 1338-1348 and 1359-1361, there followed waves of large scale collective expulsions, in the execution of which both princely and urban authorities were involved[71]. After that time, however, the importance of collective exile as a measure of repression sharply declined and other types of punishment were inflicted on rebellious communities. The stake of this article is to explain this brief but intensive legal phenomenon within the judicial and political structures of the county.

Verdicts of political exile in Flanders must be considered a result of conflict between 'communal' and 'princely' law – which differ from the Italian city states where there was no such distinction – as well as between a *de iure* verdict and *de facto* politics, as is obviously the case for every 'political offense' and its punishment. Legal discourses and practices should not only be studied as such but also as a key to understanding how the Flemish urban commune functioned during this period and how it related to the authority of the princely state. The act of spatially excluding an entire group of persons from the urban body politic as a result of civil strife provides an interesting perspective to do so. Even though they will also be considered

une société urbanisée face aux crises du bas Moyen-âge, in: Rivolte urbane e rivolte contadine nell'Europa del Trecento, eds. M. Bourin, G. Cherubini, G. Pinto, Florence 2008; S.K. Cohn, *Lust for Liberty. The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425. Italy, France and Flanders*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2006; J. Dumolyn, *Guild Politics and Political Guilds in Fourteenth Century Flanders,* in: *The Voices of The People in Late Medieval Europe: Communication and Popular Politics*, eds. J. Dumolyn, J. Haemers, H. R. Oliva Herer and V. Challet.

[71] J. Dumolyn, *The Legal Repression of Revolts in Late Medieval Flanders*, The Legal History Review, 68 (2000), p. 517.

here, our main focus will not be on individual cases of political exile but rather collective expulsions. The political banishment of individuals in Flemish law has already received scholarly attention in the context of other works on revolts and on criminal law in general. Political offenders could be exiled for a number of reasons, subversive 'muttering', spreading political rumours or leaflets, singing political songs, resisting the authority of guild wardens, city magistrates or princely officers, insulting the prince, calling for labour strikes or inciting a group of people to armed mobilisations or violent riots[72]. But the mass collective punishments of Flemish rebels during the fourteenth century, as we will show, reveal some distinctive features of the logic of urban society itself.

Our subject matter should first be further delineated. Banishment was not the only punishment which physically removed a culprit from his town of origin. Imposed expiatory pilgrimages were considered to be a relief of the punishment of exile. In Flemish urban law, influenced in this respect by canon law, they became a quite prominent penalty but withered away after the middle of the fifteenth century[73]. The city of Bruges, for instance, was obliged to send 3,000 people on pilgrimages as a punishment for the 'Good Friday' Revolt of 18 May

[72] See in general R. C. Van Caenegem, *Geschiedenis van het Strafrecht in Vlaanderen van de XIde tot de XIVde eeuw*, Brussels 1954, p. 137-156; Dumolyn, *The Legal Repression* and Dumolyn and Haemers, *Bad Chicken*; some examples from Ypres: P. De Pelsmaeker, *Registres aux sentences des échevins d'Ypres*, Brussels 1914, p. 287: in 1367 Pierre li Haestigghe was banished from Flanders for three years on his head 'pour ce qu'il dist maulvaisez nouvèlez et horriblez pour ent mouver [sic] et destourber les bonnez gens de le ville' while the weaver Hannin le Zelopere was exiled for a year for ringing the bell 'pour laisier oevre' (calling for a strike); his three companions received the same punishment.

[73] They have already been intensively studied: E. Van Cauwenbergh, *Les pélérinages expiatoires et judiciaires dans le droit communal de la Belgique au moyen âge*, Leuven 1922; J. Van Herwaarden, *Opgelegde bedevaarten. Een studie over de praktijk van opleggen van bedevaarten (met name in de stedelijke rechtspraak) in de Nederlanden gedurende de late middeleeuwen (ca. 1300-ca. 1500)*, Assen-Amsterdam 1978; Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 151-152; M. Boone and W. Prevenier, *Mécanismes de controle social*, in: Le prince et le peuple. Images de la société du temps des ducs de Bourgogne 1384- 1530, ed. W. Prevenier, Antwerp 1998, p. 287-294.

1302[74]. In Ghent in 1311, 18 craftsmen who had been the main instigators of a killing of patricians at the fish market were also sentenced to expiatory pilgrimages and many more examples could be given[75]. Yet another legal phenomenon closely related to exile, the mass confiscations of the property of exiled opponents, will also not be systematically considered here[76] and nor will the possible destruction of their houses, the so-called *droit d'abattis* or *droit d'arsin*, also a typical feature of Flemish communal law[77]. Finally, although, strictly speaking, this is not a punishment imposed on a criminal, one more related legal practice in medieval Flanders which we can only mention in passing is the taking of hostages. Hostage-taking originated as a form of legal security in the settlement of private feuds but was a practice continually resorted to from the late thirteenth century onwards within the context of social and political conflicts. After the repression of revolts the Flemish towns were to provide great numbers of their burghers as hostages to the Count or to the King of France, serving as personal sureties in order to avoid any further resistance to princely authority and to guarantee the

[74] The revolt usually wrongly referred to as the 'Bruges Matins', see D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, London 1992, p. 195; D. van den Auweele, *De Brugse gijzelaarslijsten, 1301, 1305 en 1328. Een komparatieve analyse*, Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, 100 (1973), p. 120.
[75] V. Fris, *Histoire de Gand: depuis les origines jusqu'en 1913*, Ghent 1930, p. 49; Van Herwaarden, *Opgelegde bedevaarten*, p. 61
[76] See Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, pp. 145-146; J. De Smet, *De repressie te Brugge na de slag bij West-Rozebeke 1 december 1382 – 31 augustus 1384. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de sociale en economische toestand van de Brugse bevolking*, Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, 84 (1947), p. 71-118; M. Vandermaesen and M. Ryckaert, *Een miskende bron voor de sociale geschiedenis van de stad Brugge. De registers van 'forfaiture et séquestre, 1302-1304' op het Brugse stadsarchief*, Brugs Ommeland, 17 (1977), p. 143-151; A. Van Oost, *Sociale stratificatie van de Brugse opstandigen en van de opstandige ingezetenen van de kleinere kasselrijsteden en van de kasselrijdorpen in Vlaanderen van 1379-1385*, Revue Belge de Philologie et Histoire, 91 (1978), p. 830-877 and K. Hancké, *Confiscaties als politiek wapen in intern stedelijke conflicten. Casus: Gent, 1477-1492*, Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent, 49 (1995), p. 197-220.
[77] See A. Delcourt, *La vengeance de la commune. L'arsin et l'abattis de maison en Flandre et en Hainaut*, Lille 1930; E. Fischer, *Die Hauszerstörung als strafrechtliche Massnahme im deutschen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1957.

payment of fines imposed on their towns[78]. In the context of fourteenth-century revolts in Flanders, demanding hostages usually went hand in hand with banishments, as whoever did not show up to fulfill his duty as a hostage would be *ipse facto* banished. In 1328, for instance, among various sanctions imposed upon the rebellious cities of Bruges and Ypres, the townsmen also had to provide hostages to the King[79]. From Bruges, 500 rebels were requested to temporarily serve as hostages. Typically for the medieval practice of hostage-taking, these men were considered warrants to insure the execution of the punishment placed upon their town rather than convicted political criminals. They were to be sent to Lille before the arrival of the King, and at the moment of his entry into the city it would be decided where they would be located[80]. They eventually ended up in different places in France[81]. 300 more craftsmen from Ypres were demanded as hostages as well to serve as a security to maintain 'the peace and tranquility' in the city. 97 men were to stay outside of Flanders; they had to pass the

[78] See most notably C. Wyffels, *De Vlaamse gijzelaars in Frankrijk in 1213, inzonderheid de Bruggelingen*, Biekorf, 42 (1961), p. 299-301; G. Dept, *Les influences anglaise et française dans le comté de Flandre du XIIIe siècle*, Ghent - Paris 1928, p. 186-201; M. Vandermaesen, *Brugse en Ieperse gijzelaars voor koning en graaf,1329-1329. Een administratief dossier*, Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, 130 (1993), p. 119-144; Id., *De rekening der Brugse gijzelaars 1328-29/1338*, Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, 115 (1978), p. 1-16; R. Lesaffer, *Cedant arma togae. De vrede van Athis-sur-Orge (1305)*, in: Omtrent 1302, eds. P. Trio, D. Heirbaut and D. Van den Auweele, Leuven 2002, p. 177; and in general A. J. Kosto, *Hostages in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2012 (the urban world of medieval Flanders is briefly dealt with on pp. 95-99). The fortunes of hostages in 14th-century Flanders will be discussed more in depth in a separate study by the present authors.

[79] See Giliodts-van Severen, *Inventaire Bruges*, p. 402-03; A. Diegerick, *Inventaire analytique des chartes appartenant aux archives de la ville d'Ypres,* Bruges 1853, vol. II, p. 51, 54

[80] ADN, B 263, n° 5901; Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire Bruges*, p. 401; Vandermaesen, *Brugse en Ieperse gijzelaarlijsten*, p. 127-129.

[81] Ghent, *State Archives*, Oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen, Chronologisch supplement, n° 613, 614, 615.

Somme and reside in France, wherever they wanted, to practice their trades 'paisiblement come bone gent'[82].

1. *The Rise of Political Banishment at the Turn of the Fourteenth Century*

During the thirteenth century Flemish urban society became increasingly complex as a result of economic growth, division of labour and social differentiation. A steadily more stratified society, one could distinguish between 'li povres' and 'li riches' or between on the one hand the 'ghemeen' or 'le commun' – mostly the urban craftsmen, petty retailers and unskilled workers – and on the other 'de goede lieden' or 'les bonnes gens' – the merchant elites who monopolised urban political power. Since the 1240s, labour strikes increasingly appear in the sources of industrial towns like Ghent and Douai, and gradually popular collective actions took up a larger and more dangerous scale. City governments and the count, when the latter was not opportunistically supporting the commoners as was the case in some cities, reacted with repressive measures, notably with exile[83]. Already in 1274 the Brabantine towns of Brussels, Mechelen, Leuven, Lier, Antwerp, Tienen and Zoutleeuw wrote to the aldermen of Ghent that they would not give a safe haven in their towns to weavers and fullers who had conspired ('contigerit', 'machinari') against the 'libertatem, jura ac consuetudinem' of their hometown. Any such person would remain to be considered as 'rebellis' on their territories as well and would be exiled ('expellemus et publice banniemus')[84]. It remains unclear whether these Ghent

[82] *Recueil des documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandre,* eds. G. Espinas and H. Pirenne, Bruxelles 1909, vol. I, 3, p. 754-755.
[83] W. Prevenier, *La bourgeoisie en Flandre au XIIIe siècle*, Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, 4 (1978), p. 407-428; J. Dumolyn, *Economic Development, Social Space and Political Power in Bruges, c. 1127-1302*, in : Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale, eds. H. Skoda, P. Lantschner and R.L. J. Shaw, Woodbridge 2012, p. 33-58.
[84] *Recueil*, vol. II, p. 380-381.

textile workers had fled their city, had collectively gone on strike and left the town or had been banished from it in the first place, but such unruly persons roaming the land definitely posed a growing threat to the ruling oligarchies of the cities of Flanders and the neighbouring principalities.

After his accession to power in 1278, Guy of Dampierre, Count of Flanders, soon faced a generalised wave of social and political unrest. Around 1280, movements of collective action caused by economic crisis and the systematic exclusion from power of the mass of the urban population touched Flanders as well as other parts of the Low Countries and Northern France. Revolts spread in Tournai, Ghent, Douai, Bruges, Ypres, Saint-Omer and Arras in 1280. In these disturbances textile workers played a key role[85]. Once the revolts were put down, the common punishment of the defeated party included pecuniary fines, bodily punishment and banishments[86]. Already, in 1280 in Bruges, when imminent revolt had been feared before it actually broke out, the urban government ordered that whoever organised an 'eninghe' (a 'union' or 'alliance') against the count or the city government would be exiled for a period of time between one and six years[87]. And in Douai, after a weavers' revolt in 1280, one man was exiled for life after having struck an aldermen, eighteen others were banished 'comme mordreux, pour ce qu'il furent en le grievance des eschevins et du conseil de ceste ville', three

[85] C. Wyffels, *Nieuwe gegevens betreffende een XIIIde eeuwse "democratische" stedelijke opstand: de Brugse "Moerlemaye" (1280-81)*, Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, 132 (1966), p. 37-142; M. Boone, *Social Conflicts in the Cloth Industry of Ypres (late 13th – early 14th Centuries): the Cockerulle Reconsidered*, in: Ypres and the Medieval Cloth Industry in Flanders. Archaeological and historical Contributions, eds. M. Dewilde, A. Ervynck and A. Wielemans (Zellik, 1998), p. 147-155.
[86] Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 23; G. Espinas, *La vie urbaine de Douai au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1913, p. 750.
[87] Wyffels, *Nieuwe gegevens*, p. 102-104.

were decapitated for the same reason and another two 'pour ce qu'il deffendirent et destourberent les oevres de le ville a faire'[88].

After 1285, the French King Philip IV 'the Fair' started getting more directly involved in the Flemish internal political situation. He found support among the urban oligarchies who saw him as an instrument to get rid of comital authority. This political constellation gradually led Flanders to become divided into two opposing camps: one side that would support the Count, and the other the French King. The pro-French faction that consisted mainly of urban oligarchs became known as the 'Leliaerts' ('Lilies'), after the 'fleur de lys' of the French Crown, while the other faction that consisted mainly of the commoners were referred to as the 'amici comitis' or 'partie li conte'[89]. In 1297 Guy decided to renounce his feudal allegiance to King Philip, French troops invaded Flanders and by 1300 the county was almost completely under French control. The property of supporters of the count was confiscated although it is unclear whether they had been formally exiled first or had just fled from their houses. We do know, however, that Bruges guildsmen who rebelled against the Lily regime were collectively banished in 1301 while the city also had to send 466 hostages to Tournai[90]. Popular resistance grew in Ghent and especially in Bruges where during the early morning of 18 May 1302 French occupying troops were killed and chased away during the 'Good Friday' revolt already mentioned above. Subsequently, a Flemish army mostly consisting of urban militiamen

[88] F. Brassart, *Emeute des tisserands, 1280*, Souvenirs de la Flandre Wallonne, 3 (1883), p. 127-129; *Recueil*, vol. II, p. 141-143

[89] J. Braekevelt, F. Buylaert, J. Dumolyn and J. Haemers, *The Politics of Factional Conflict in Late Medieval Flanders*, Historical Research, 85 (2012), p. 13-31; M. Boone, *Une société urbanisée sous tension. Le comté de Flandre vers 1302*, in: Le désastre de Courtrai. Mythe et réalité de la bataille des éperons d'or, ed. R. C. Van Caenegem, Antwerp 2002 p. 27-77.

[90] J. F. Verbruggen, *The Battle of the Golden Spurs. Courtrai, 11 July 1302*, Woodbridge 2002, p. 19, 22; Id., *1302 in Vlaanderen. De Guldensporenslag*, Brussels 1977, p. 9, 72; L. Verriest, *Le registre de la "Loi" de Tournai, de 1302 et les listes des otages de Bruges (1301) et de Courtrai*, Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, 80 (1911), p. 369-527.

defeated the French chivalric army near Kortrijk on 11 July of the same year. The *Annales Gandenses,* the most reliable chronicle for this period, mentions that Lilies were either chased from Bruges, Kortrijk and Oudenaarde, or had run away from Bergues to Saint-Omer to save themselves. This must also have been the case in other cities. Even though most of the Lilies seemed to have voluntarily gone into exile, and we do not know if a formal judgment was pronounced upon them afterwards, their exclusion from their urban communities was formalised in the sense that their property was confiscated. Especially in the Bruges archives, these confiscations are well documented[91]. According to the *Annales Gandenses,* the Lilies had previously banished all those in Ghent suspected to have joined the pro-comital army, and similar measures would undoubtedly have been taken in other places as well[92]. Now the reverse pattern of repression could be seen, a pattern of large-scale exiles of political opponents which would be repeated over more than half a century.

The popular victory of 1302 generally led to more socio-economic emancipation of the craftsmen and to the guilds' participation in the government of the large towns of Flanders[93]. After the rush of victory had passed and the city-dwellers lost their military superiority, the treaty of Athis-sur-Orge which the French King imposed on the county on 16 January 1305 included as one of its main clauses the return of all the Lilly exiles and the restitution of their confiscated property[94]. Moreover, the Flemings were obliged to pay an enormous indemnity to

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[91] *Annals of Ghent*, ed. H. Johnstone, London 1951, p. 27-28; Vandermaesen and Ryckaert, *Een miskende bron*; *De rekeningen van de stad Brugge 1280-1320, vol. II*, eds. C. Wyffels, J. De Smet and A. Vandewalle, Brussels 1965-1997, p. 11-56 (account of 1302) and also during the following years.
[92] *De rekeningen van de stad Brugge*, p. 30 and W. Prevenier, *Motieven voor leliaartsgezindheid in Vlaanderen in de periode 1297-1305*, De Leiegouw, 19 (1977), p. 273-288; Verbruggen, *1302 in Vlaanderen*, p. 22.
[93] Boone, *Une société urbanisée,* p. 27-77.
[94] *Codex diplomaticus Flandriae inde ab anno 1296 ad usque 1325*, ed. Th. De Limburg-Stirum, Bruges 1879, vol. I, p. 336-37, 358, 364-65; a full legal analysis of the verdict or so-called 'treaty' in Lesaffer, *Cedant*.

the King. The city of Bruges and its rural castellany (the so-called 'Liberty of Bruges') also had to send 3000 people on expiatory pilgrimage, as already mentioned a punishment that came very close to real exile, albeit only one of the temporary sort. The Flemish representatives at the treaty, both noblemen and townsmen, could select these men themselves among those who seemed most guilty of the previous rebellions against the King of France. Thousands of them had to go 'outre mer' and the others were to go where the King would decide. However, this unrealistic punishment would eventually be bought off, and this had perhaps been Philip the Fair's intention from the start[95]. Those who had gained most from the victory in 1302, the textile workers, gradually felt ever more betrayed by their formal allies of the comital family. In this climate of popular disappointment, the return of the previously exiled and fugitive Lilies after the treaty of Athis seems to have been a primary cause for a new series of risings. Revolts broke out in 1309-10 in Bruges, in 1309 in the rural district of the castellany of *Waas*, in 1309-11 in Aardenburg, and in 1311 in Ghent, provoked by the discontent with the terms of treaty. Again, the repressive measures after these risings included even more collective banishments[96].

One of the biggest burdens on the population was now the fiscal policy of Count Robert of Béthune who had succeeded his deceased father Guy. In most cities of Flanders, members of the Lilly party, now again with the full support of the count they had previously detested, assumed or consolidated power and introduced measures against the guildsmen[97]. In 1311, the patricians in Ghent tried to regain their dominance of the city, but in the riots already referred to above the commoners came out victorious and preserved power until 1319, when the artisans

[95] Van Herwaarden, *Opgelegde bedevaarten*, p. 56; Van den Auweele, *De Brugse gijzelaarslijsten*, p. 120.
[96] *Annals of Ghent*, p. 99.
[97] W. Te Brake, *A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in Flanders, 1323-1328*, Philadelphia 1993, p. 51.

again lost their place within the city council. It was now their turn to go into exile to the neighbouring town of Dendermonde[98]. We are not well informed about the precise number of exiles and when exactly they were banished, but in a charter of 22 March 1321 John of Flanders, Lord of Dendermonde and a member of the comital family, mentioned 25 burghers of Ghent who were on his territory. Most of these men seem to have been weavers and fullers who had been exiled from Ghent for fifty years, probably by the city aldermen themselves and not on the immediate order of the count, for political crimes including alleged fraud when in office, 'moete à bannierez desploiés', 'grans descors et melléez' and physical attacks on the city government. They would be brought to justice if Lord John could find them, as this had been requested to him by the count and the city government of Ghent[99]. By this time, large groups of banished rebels were already posing a serious threat to those in power, but the practice of collective political exile would even become more generalised during the coming decades.

Continuing sentiments of discontent among the popular classes were further fueled by the inexperience of the new pro-French count Louis of Nevers who took up office in 1322[100]. A new massive rebellion would finally break out in Flanders in 1323-1328. It started among the peasants of the coastal plain of Flanders and soon Bruges, Ypres, Kortrijk, Geraardsbergen and other towns joined in, though in Ghent the elites held on to power and rebellious textile workers once again fled the city[101]. Where rebels got the upper hand, numerous members of

[98] P. Van Duyse and E. De Buscher, *Inventaire analytique des chartes et documents appartenant aux archives de la ville de Gand*, Ghent 1867, p. 99; see for this period : Rogghé, *Gemeente ende vrient*.
[99] *Recueil*, vol. II, p. 408-410.
[100] TeBrake, *A Plague of Insurrection*, p. 46-47; J. Sabbe, *Vlaanderen in opstand 1323-1328: Nikolaas Zannekin, Zeger Janszone en Willem de Deken*, Bruges 1992.
[101] See for this period Verbruggen, *Vlaanderen na de Guldensporenslag* and Sabbe, *Vlaanderen*.

the opposing party were either executed or exiled. Many others probably voluntarily left to avoid physical danger and these fugitives would also often see their property confiscated. By this time, collective exile had become an established tool in contentious politics and whichever party held power would use it against its opponents, who, when they came back, did the same again to those who had previously prosecuted them. The mass expulsion of political enemies would be applied on an ever larger scale during and after the subsequent large-scale rebellions of 1323-1328, 1338-1348 and 1359-1361. In many cases this measure represented a collective punishment inflicted on an entire community rather than an aggregate of penalties for rebels who were individually sentenced by a proper court. However, the inherent weaknesses of this method of repression gradually became clearer to the princely dynasty, during and after a new massive wave of revolts in 1379-1385, collective political exile already represented a far less prominent phenomenon. It would gradually disappear, as we shall see, as Burgundian rule was established in Flanders after 1384.

2. *Exile as a Legal Remedy in a Political Context*

Obviously, exile had never been a measure of repression only reserved for political criminals; it was indeed one of the most frequent punishments in medieval criminal law. The older justice of the Flemish commune, before and during the twelfth century, where comital laws and aldermen appointed by the prince were imposed on the cities, had still been dominantly characterised by stricter customary collective vengeance[102]. Banishment became an essential element of an urban criminal law that had replaced private vengeance by a collective punishment exerted by the political organisation of the commune, an *Eidgenossenschaft* of

[102] F.-L. Ganshof, *Le droit urbain en Flandre au début de la première phase de son histoire (1127)*, Revue d'Histoire du Droit, 19 (1951), p. 399; Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, passim.

men who wished security and peace within their urban space. A range of offences could be punished by exiling a culprit from his urban community: refusal to appear before a court of law, murder, manslaughter, theft, rape, kidnapping, seduction of minors, prostitution, other sexual offences, sorcery, illegal gambling, fraud etc. 'Bannen', 'uutseghen', 'banlinc', 'ballingh' and other similar words were the Middle Dutch terms used in this respect[103]. As someone who had violated the fundamental norms and values of the community, the exile became an outlaw, an *exlex*, or in Middle Dutch, he was 'wetteloes'. As the Ghent privilege of 1191 stated it, the outcast would 'remain without law' ('sine lege permanebit')[104].

The origins of the medieval practice of exile and its further developments have been fiercely discussed, for instance whether it was derived from a presumed Germanic general *Friedlosigkeit* ('loss of peace'), a theory which is now contested. But at any rate, it is clear that the banishment of 'peace-breakers' who were excluded from their local community is a ubiquitous phenomenon also present in many non-European societies. This type of penalty entailed a multiplicity of legal practices and did not develop in linear or straightforward ways. Its development and variations were rather determined by specific socio-economic, political, legal and cultural conditions. Aspects which the various forms of expulsion of a wrongdoer from a certain space and a certain group of persons have in common and which were also present in Flemish law include prohibition for the convict – whether temporarily or permanently – to reside in a given territory, confiscation of his property, complete or conditional permission for anyone else to harm or kill the outlaw, prohibition to aid or harbour

[103] R. Lenaerts, *Het strafrecht en het strafprocesrecht in de XIVe en XVe eeuw te Gent*, unpublished Ma Thesis Ghent University, Ghent 1972, p. 49.
[104] *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (1191 – aanvang 1206)*, ed. W. Prevenier, Brussels 1964, p. 13.

him, and the additional sanction, usually capital punishment, when the convict returned before the term of his exile was over[105].

The Flemish urban commune of the central Middle Ages was an inclusive society based upon personal freedom, labour and solidarity within a given space which could exclude whoever transgressed its rules and broke the urban *pax*, *communio* or *amicitia* or who otherwise neglected his obligations and responsibilities towards the community[106]. The exact legal relationships between 'urban peace' in the developing towns of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, comital peace as an appropriation of the royal *bannum*, and the Peace and Truce of God Movement in medieval Flanders and its neighbouring regions have been the subject of debate and we will not posit a new hypothesis here. However, the ideological and practical similarities between particular elements of these three political and legal systems of thought and power which swiftly rose to prominence during the eleventh century are clear enough. Vermeesch plausibly argued that in this part of medieval Europe the type of exile practiced in the medieval commune essentially reproduced the older Germanic forms of banishment and

[105] H. Brunner, *Anspaltungen der Friedlosigkeit*, Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung, 11 (1890), p. 62-100; and critique by E. Kaufmann, *Zur Lehre von der Friedlosigkeut im Germanischen Recht*, in: Beiträge zur Rechtsgechichte. Gedächtnisschrift für Hermann Conrad, eds. G. Kleinheyer and P. Mikat, Paderborn 1979, p. 329-365 and J. Weitzel, *Dinggenossenchaft und Recht. Untersuchungen zum Rechtsverständnis im fränkisch-deutschen Mittelalter*, Cologne – Vienna 1985, vol. I, p. 140; recent contributions include R. Jacob, *Bannissement et rite de la langue tirée au Moyen Age. Du lien des lois et de sa rupture*, Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, 55 (2000), p. 1039-1079; H. Zaremska, *Les bannis*, p. 36-42; and L. Napran, *Introduction: Exile in Context*, in: Exile in the Middle Ages, eds. L. Napran and E. Van Houts, Turnhout 2004, p. 1-9.

[106] On the oldest Flemish liberty charters see R.C. Van Caenegem, *Coutumes et législation en Flandre aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, in: Les libertés urbaines et rurales du XIe au XIVe siècle, Brussels 1968, p. 245-279. Flemish rural communes held the same principles to a large degree but will not be dealt with in this analysis, see F.-L. Ganshof, *Recherches sur les tribunaux de la châtellenie en Flandre avant le milieu du XIIIe siècle*, Antwerp 1932, p. 38-49.

the excommunication which the canons on the Peace of God also prescribed[107]. According to Van Caenegem, both Frankish imperial law, in which exile was considered a grace for the capital punishment, and the *Pax et Treuga Dei* had certainly inspired early communal law in its application of the punishment. However, the practice of physical ejection of a person from his town also appeared to have taken up a specific form which suited the needs and life world of the urban commune. Exile, and the related legal practice of destroying the houses of those banished, thus became a typical feature of urban custom, necessary to protect the collective interests from individual transgressions of the moral codes of the commune, mostly acts of physical violence and offences against individual property and the general economic interests of the town[108].

Political developments were the primary factors influencing the further evolution of criminal law in medieval Flanders[109]. Banishment had undoubtedly already been a part of a mostly unwritten urban customary law when the Flemish towns experienced a decisive period of strong demographic, socio-economic and political developments in the eleventh century. At the same time the idea of the Peace and Truce of God was also influencing communal conceptions of justice and safety. However, when between the late eleventh and thirteenth centuries criminal law was for the first time written down in the privileges for the Flemish towns it was already clearly influenced by the centralizing legislative policies of the counts. By consequence, for this earliest period of the history of Flemish towns, it is generally very

[107] A. Vermeesch, *L'exclusion de la communauté dans l'ancien droit germanique, dans la Paix de Dieu et dans le droit communal*, in : Miscellanea J. Gessler, eds. K. C. Peeters and R. Roemans, Antwerp 1948, p. 1250-1261.
[108] Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 177.
[109] R.C. Van Caenegem, *La peine dans les anciens Pays-Bas (12^{e} -17^{e} s.)*, in: La Peine. Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, Brussels 1991, p. 120.

difficult to distinguish between 'custom' and 'given law' as well as between 'communal' or 'princely' legislation, as the only sources of communal law we dispose of are princely charters. These legal documents were clearly the result of a negotiated balance of power between the prince and the urban communities, or at least their elites, at a given moment in time[110]. From the twelfth century onwards, comital power increasingly tried to get a grip on urban criminal law and certainly on practices like exile and the 'droit d'arsin' and 'd'abattis'. This became explicit in further privileges which remained compromises between the interests of the count and those of the cities. Typically, the privileges granted to a number of Flemish cities by Philip of Alsace in 1165-77 allowed the count to pardon an exile from their town but in that case the latter still had to repair with the city and pay the heavy fine of 60 pounds 'ad opus castri', in other words a fine in the direct collective interest of the commune[111]. Sentences were mostly delivered by the 'urban' aldermen but these were in fact courts sanctioned by comital seigniorial power. Moreover, towns could not exile someone without the permission of the prince or his judicial officer, except for Ghent, where the bailiff ('bailli' or 'baljuw') who in all other Flemish cities acted as a public prosecutor in name of the Count had less power than elsewhere, at least until this privilege would be abolished in 1453 as a punishment for a revolt[112]. But even if the count tried to firm his grip on this important punishment of urban law, the interests of the town-dwellers themselves were also reckoned with. Thus, most Flemish

[110] Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 148; R.C. Van Caenegem, *Considerations on the Customary Law of Twelfth-Century Flanders*, in: Law History, the Low Countries and Europe, eds. Ludo Milis, D. Lambrecht et al., London 1994, p. 101-104; J. Gilissen, *La Coutume dans les "Pays de par-deça" (Belgique, Pays-Bas, Nord de la France) (XIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, in: La Coutume. Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, Brussels 1990, p. 296.
[111] F.L. Ganshof, *Einwohnergenossenschaft und Graf in den flandrischen Städten des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung, 64 (1957), p. 117.
[112] Lenaerts, *Het strafrecht*, p. 54; on the role of the Flemish bailiff see H. Nowé, *Les baillis comtaux de Flandre: des origines à la fin du XIVe siècle*, Brussels 1929.

cities obtained the privilege that the goods of their exiled burghers could not be confiscated by the prince as this inflicted damage on the heirs[113].

3. *A Diversity of Political Crimes and Punishments*

Although precise regulations in various urban privileges dealing with exile would sometimes continue to be adapted during the later Middle Ages, by the thirteenth century the legal approach to banishment in Flemish urban law was already firmly established. From the fourteenth century onwards, apart from only normative legal texts, sources for the administration of justice also become more abundant and offer a better insight in the actual functioning of banishment in 'political cases'. Like other criminals, rebels were essentially considered breakers of urban peace. However, the exact wording of the sentences and the legal formulas used for political crimes varied considerably. In fourteenth-century Ypres, subversive elements were expelled for a 'union, alliance and conspiration' ('enynghe, aleanche et conspiration'), for 'great threats to good people saying that they would get their share, or that they would kill them' ('grans tensemens fais sour pluseurs bonnes gens disant qu'il auroient du leur, ou il lez tueroient') or for 'organising disturbances at the place of the weavers (…) which could have caused disturbances in the entire city' ('faire destourbiera le place des tisserans (...) pour le destourbier k'n peust avoir venu en toute le ville', or more in general for 'mutiny and conspiracy' ('meute et conspiration')[114]. And the terms used for political crimes and the motivations for the sentences imposed on offenders used in comital documents but also

[113] R.C. Van Caenegem, *L'Etat de droit dans la Flandre médiévale*, in: Excerptiones iuris: Studies in Honor of André Gouron, eds. B. Durand and L. Mayali, Berkeley 2000, p. 770; Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 206-208.
[114] For instance *Registres*, ed. De Pelsmaeker, p. 256, 279, 332.

in the Ghent *ballingboek*, a register of all those banished[115], included 'because of all crimes and offences committed against our beloved lord' ('van al dat hij mesdaen of mesgrepen mach hebben ... jeghen onsen gheminden heere'), 'many weighty and horrible deeds against our person [i.e. the count]' ('menich zwaer horrible fait in onsen persoene')[116], formulas directly referring offenses against seigniorial potestas. But there were also motivations for verdicts referring to threats to the public order within the city, such as 'to cause troubles and mutiny' ('beroerte ende meute te makene'), 'armed gatherings within the city (…) which could have caused bloodshed and homicide' ('wapeninghe bin der stede (...) daer bloetsturtinghe ende manslacht af ghecommen mocht hebben')[117]. Generic terms like 'beroerte', 'commocien', 'conspiratie', 'meute', 'tymult', 'upset', 'wapeninghe', 'commocion', 'mueterie' were all used in later medieval Ghent and by the later fifteenth century jurist Wielant[118]. Also in Italy sentences of political exile, although usually pronounced by ordinary judges, would often be vaguely worded, unclearly defined or not explained at all in the remaining sources, although there as well general formulas like the security of the republic and the welfare of the city would at times be invoked[119].

However, it would be mistaken to conclude that such phrases merely represent a political justification or legitimization and not an inherent judicial logic of the urban commune as well. In fact it is not always easy to distinguish between 'common law offences' as opposed to 'political crimes' – an inevitably anachronistic approach. Notably people who were

[115] See on this source M. Boone, *Geld en macht: de Gentse stadsfinanciën en de Bourgondische staatsvorming (1384-1453)*, Ghent 1990, p. 194; Ghent, *City Archives*, serie 202; V. Van Den Haeghen, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Gand*, Ghent 1896, p. 143.
[116] Lenaerts, *Het strafrecht*, p. 4.
[117] *Cartulaire de Louis de Male*, ed. De Limburg-Stirum, vol. I, p. 640-641.
[118] Lenaerts, *Het strafrecht*, p. 5.
[119] Shaw, *The Politics*, p. 55-56.

considered ‘useless and unprofitable’ (‘onnute ende onprofitelicken’, ‘non proufitable en le ville’) could also be banished for a year when they were considered responsible for their own situation. This ‘infringement’ usually meant 10 years of banishment[120]. One Jan de Grave, from Ghent for instance, was sent away from Flanders for the term of ten years because he was ‘useless to the count, the city and the good people of the town (‘dat hi onnute was den here ende der poort ende den goeden lieden van der stede’)[121]. This formula has been discussed by legal historians: it could mean that those convicted were ‘useless’ simply because they were poor, homeless or unwilling to work, not fulfilling their duties towards the community, because they were considered potential rebels or criminals, or because they led an immoral lifestyle. The term seems to have been one deliberately kept general so as to serve as a pretext to arbitrarily exile those harmful to the interests of the ruling elite, whether from a political point of view or because they were marginalised groups who created a sentiment of insecurity[122]. After all, people were also exiled from cities for not maintaining their fireplace and thus posing a danger to the community[123]. A similar very generally motivated reason why people were punished, and often also banished, was ‘unacceptable behaviour’ (‘onredelike wandelinghe’ or

[120] ADN, B 1596, f° 17-25.
[121] ADN, B 1596, f° 25 r°.
[122] E. Gailliard, *De keure van Hazebroek van 1336*, Ghent 1891-1905, vol. V, p. 161-162; F.-L. Ganshof, *Toti oppido et universitati inutilis. (Keure van Mathilde van Portugal, gravin Vlaanderen in 1191 aan de stad Gent verleend, art. 30)*, in: Feestbundel H. J. Van de Wijer, ed. H. Draye, Leuven 1944, p. 63-77; L. –Th. Maes, *Vijf eeuwen stedelijk strafrecht. Bijdrage tot de rechts- en cultuurgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, Antwerp 1947, p. 350-351; Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 137, 148; *Registres*, ed. De Pelsmaeker, passim; K. Papin, *Repressie of Gratie? Verbanningen in Sint-Winoksbergen (1386-1475)*, Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge, 148 (2011), p. 196, 315-316. And see for instance a similar phenomenon in Lyon: N. Gonthier, *Les bannis en Lyonnais à la fin du Moyen Age*, in: *Les marginaux et les autres*, ed. M. Aguilhon, Paris 1990, p. 45 and comparable tendencies at using the law as a means of social control in fourteenth-century England in R. C. Palmer, *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348-1381*, Chapel Hill 1993, p. 141.
[123] M. Vandermaesen, *De besluitvorming in het graafschap Vlaanderen tijdens de veertiende eeuw. Bijdrage tot een politieke sociologie van de Raad en van de raadsheren achter de figuur van Lodewijk II van Nevers (1322-1346)*, Brussels 1999, vol. II, p. 402, 408, 499.

'deshonneste conversation'). Motivated by this phrase numerous people were exiled from Flemish towns, even if it was only for a short term of three years[124]. This was clearly another typically communal legal phenomenon as even in some Middle French sources from the comital administration the term 'onredelike wandelinghe' was used in Dutch[125]. Thus, like other misdeeds against the urban community political offenses should be considered to be 'crimes against the common profit' and even when they were only motivated in very general wordings this did not necessarily imply arbitrary 'political justice' but rather a political and legal logic inherent to the commune. And the interests of the prince and the common wheal of the land of Flanders were also at stake. City-dwellers were usually banished because they were both 'enemies of the city and of the count'[126]. People were exiled for actively preparing disturbances 'against the count and the county of Flanders' or 'against the prince of the land and all good people'[127]. Finally people were exiled for rebelling both 'against the city' or the 'urban government'. In 1324, for instance, three persons from Ypres were banished for eternity and faced death by hanging if they returned ('cascun banni de conté de Flandre à toujours, sour le hart, de faire enynghe, alléanche et conspiration contre le seigneur, contre le ville et contre les gouverneurs de le loy d'Ypres')[128].

[124] ADN, B 1596, f° 17-25; See also *Cartulaire de Louis de Male*, ed. De Limburg-Stirum, p. 545-555.
[125] Brussels, *General State Archives*, Rekenkamers, Rolrekeningen, 840: Michiel Robin, from Poperinghe was recalled from 5 year banishment in 1369.
[126] For instance Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, vol. II, p. 9: 'Che sont les bannis et anemis de Monseigneur et son pays de Flandre'. There is an overlap or confusion with the crime of treason or lese majesty but these terms were never invoked in fourteenth-century Flemish sources and only became widespread as princely authority grew during the Burgundian domination of Flanders in the fifteenth century, see J. Lameere, *De la mise hors la loi en Flandre au XVe siècle*, Brussels 1909 and Dumolyn, *The Legal Repression*.
[127] ADN, B 1596 f° 18. More similar cases can be found in these comital chancery registers, for instance ADN, B 1596, f° 18-25 or *Cartulaire de Louis de Male*, ed. De Limburg-Stirum, pp. 545-555.
[128] *Registres*, ed. De Pelsmaeker, p. 256.

On the one hand, exile was a punishment which imposed no costs on the community and purged it, if at least temporarily, of unwanted or dangerous people while the severity of the verdict could be easily adapted to the heaviness of the crime by adapting the duration of the banishment[129]. On the other hand, from the political point of view, there was always the possibility that internal enemies would come back when the tides had turned, or that they would remain a threat from outside to the city. In Flemish urban law, banishment was foremost a temporary measure and a sentence delivered without any additional punishment[130]. As was the case for exile in general, the number of years one was banished for rebellious behaviour varied greatly according to specific political crimes and according to place and time. The authorities certainly differentiated between minor and major offenses, although it is hard to distinguish fixed tariffs as punishments often varied from one city to another and sources are usually fragmentary. The verdicts imposed on political criminals were also visibly heavier when the political context was marked by rising tensions. In Ghent, rebels were usually banished for 50 years when they had used arms and only for 10 years if they had not, for instance if they had only uttered 'rude words'[131]. But in times of civil war and large-scale rebellion, punishments became more severe. After count Louis of Male had returned to power in Flanders in 1348, insurgents from Bruges were banished for life[132]. Conspiring with the main instigators would also imply exile. One Fierin Scachere was recalled in 1359 from 50 years exile for plotting an uprising with a certain Lambrecht van Tidegheem that occurred in Ghent in 1353[133]. Jan de

[129] Maes, *Vijf eeuwen stedelijk strafrecht*, p. 445.
[130] Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 147-148.
[131] Lenaerts, *Het strafrecht*, p. 50-52;
[132] Bruges, *City Archives*, Oud archief, Groenenboek C f° 110-113.
[133] ADN, B 1596, f° 22 r°; V. Fris, *Les origines de la réforme constitutionnelle de Gand 1360-1369*, Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique, Gand 1907, p. 439; *Cartulaire de Louis de Male*, ed. De Limburg-Stirum, vol. I, p. 422; see on this revolt Verbruggen, *Geweld*, p. 68.

Grutere, from Ghent was also banished for 50 years because he had been forging alliances to prepare a demonstration and a riot ('loepe ende beroerten te makene')[134]. Helping exiles or assisting them in clandestinely entering the city also implied exile[135]. In some cases, like in Ghent during the period 1350-1359, aiding political exiles meant 50 years banishment.[136] One woman from Ghent, a certain Aleit uten Pothijsere, was banished for ten years because she was probably a messenger who kept contact with exiled rebels ('soe heift gheweist toten ballinghen ghebannen van meuten')[137]. However, women sometimes also played more violent roles in a rebellion, for instance one Zoete Soys Zoen who was banished for causing bloodshed during the revolt in Ghent, a crime against the city government and the count ('om dat zoe bloedsturtinghe ghemaect zoude hebben tusscen der wet ende den commune in contrarien minen here')[138].

According to the comital pardon letters of the period 1323-1359, one could be exiled for the far more limited term of three years for a variety of lighter offenses of both political and common nature like insulting the local aldermen – again the expression 'unacceptable behaviour' was often used – or even for selling sour drinks[139]. In this context, it is again often very hard to distinguish between a common crime and a truly 'political' offense against the

[134] ADN, B 1596, f° 22 r°.
[135] ADN, B 1596, f° 19 r°, Peter Houckin, a miller, was banished from Ghent because he had let exiles enter the city and he had caused new disturbances ('bloedstuertinghe te makene ende toe te bringhene ghewapend was bi nachte ende ooc om de ballinghe in te roupene'): ADN, B 1596, f° 20 v°: Gillis Bosch, from Ghent was banished for a similar offence ('dat hi heift ghestaen bi daghe ende bi nachte omme dat de ballinghe in te roupene ghebanen van meuten ende beroerte te makene in contrarien van miin here van Vlandren, in contrarien der ruste ende paise van der stede').
[136] ADN, B 1596, f° 17f°-20r°.
[137] ADN, B 1596, f° 21 v°.
[138] ADN, B 1596 f° 20 r°: on the same folio, her husband Gillis Soys Zoen, and Jacop Soys Zoen, another family member, were also banished for their involvement in a rebellion ('om dat zy wapenninghe ghemaect zouden hebben in contrarien den prince ende der wet').
[139] ADN, B 1596, f° 49 r°.

common good. It seems that from the legal point of view repression against 'marginal' city-dwellers who led an immoral lifestyle or against acts considered dangerous to the common wheal of the urban community in general did not differ that much from specifically punishing riotous behavior. People were exiled for ten years for uttering words aimed at instigating a rebellion[140] or for disobedience to municipal law but also for transporting grains out of the city[141] (specifically in Ghent, the city which held the Flemish grain staple), for beating up somebody[142], for instigating or helping others to murder someone[143], for not taking an oath before the aldermen[144], for visiting prostitutes and 'malvais hostels' (or in Dutch: 'quaeder herberghe')[145] or exploiting the latter, for deceitful financial mismanagement of the city (for instance in Damme)[146], or for threatening the burgomaster[147]. The heavy punishment of fifty years of banishment – which given the average life expectancy of fourteenth-century people in practice usually implied exile for life – was handed out for harbouring a person sentenced to the death penalty, for entering the house of another in the night, for rape[148], for opposing a sentence of banishment delivered to someone else[149], for conspiring aimed at rebellion in general, for throwing stones at another person, or for arson[150]. People were banished for a

[140] ADN, B 1596, f° 19 r°.
[141] ADN, B 1596, f° 19 r°.
[142] ADN, B 1596, f° 19 r°.
[143] ADN, B 1596, f° 24 v°; ADN, B 1596, f° 41 v°: Michiel van Montignies was banished for 50 years for murder of Jan van Betsbrouc, while Eustaes van Montignies was banished for 10 years as instigator of the same murder.
[144] ADN, B 1596, f° 21 v°.
[145] ADN, B 1596, f° 21 v°.
[146] ADN, B 1596, f° 25 r°.
[147] Ibid.
[148] ADN, B1596, f° 18 r°.
[149] ADN, B 1596, f° 22 r°.
[150] ADN, B 1596, f° 19 v°: Jan van der Hasselt was banished from Ghent for 50 years for throwing stones at Gillis der Lanthere, who was one of the aldermen of Ghent in 1360 ('om hi quam ghewapender hant met sijn hulperen ende riep ute Gillis der Lanthere ende waerp up hem met steenen ieghen tverbod

hundred years and a day for open rebellion[151], but also for murder and for refusing to appear before court[152]. Rebels could also be exiled for life for not returning to their own houses after peace in the city had been concluded after a revolt[153]. In other words, if exile was certainly not reserved for 'political crimes' and such separate category in fact remains a construction of the modern legal historian, in the fourteenth-century Flemish towns acts of sedition and mutiny figured very prominently among the reasons why somebody was exiled. The gravity of political offenses also strongly varied, exactly as it did in the case of common offenses. But most importantly, from the point of view of communal law, rebellious acts were just another form of grave crimes against the peace and welfare of the town. Of course it was the political balance of power at a given moment in time which ultimately determined whether one was 'guilty' or not, but according to the legal norms of the time the punishment was certainly not an arbitrary one.

van der stede'). And see also: *Stads en Baljuwsrekeningen van Gent 1351-1364*, eds. A. van Werveke and H. van Werveke, Brussels, 1970, p. 430.

[151] ADN, B 1596, f° 150 r°, seven people were recalled from 100 years of exile in 1359 in Ghent. They had been banished for organising an armed gathering with their banners deployed trying to take over the city ('dat zy maecten wapenninghe met openen banieren … hemlieden makende heren van der poort').

[152] The symbolic banishment of 100 years and a day was apparently only common in a few places such as Kortrijk, for the 1350s, see: ADN, B 1596, f° 150 v°: four people were banished by default from Kortrijk for murder ('van moorden buten landen van Vlandren ende achterhaelt bi contumacien'). Also in 1374: Brussels, *General State Archives*, Rekenkamers, Rolrekeningen, 847: Ghiselin Oudcoren and Weitin Oudcoren, 'cascun cent ans et un jour, de meute pour ce qu'il crièrent as armes et qu'on sonast le clocke de le ville et faisoyent ensamblee de gens'

[153] ADN, B 1596, f° 41 v°: Andries de Ruuse was banished for eternity from Flanders for not returning home after a rebellion had ended ('om dat hi met in ne quam te sinen huus up den pais die ghemaect was').

4. *The Procedure and Consequences of Exile*

On the precise execution of the verdict we are only fragmentarily informed. We know that any exile had to leave Ghent, or at least the ramparts of the city, before sunset. Within three days he had to be outside the county[154]. One Godekin Bruninc was banished in 1362 for 'uselessness and for having spoken improperly to the sergeants of the deans of weavers and the small trades'. After he was banished he did not leave Ghent straightaway and halted at the fish market. While he still had the rest of the day to leave the city he was subsequently assassinated by the sergeants he had offended. The aldermen motivated this breach of comital justice by reasoning that the one day rule was a law dealing with the relation between the sentenced and the count and not with the relation between him and the offended party. Their point of view was clearly in defiance of the count's authority and demonstrated the typical legal particularism of the strongest and most autonomous Flemish town[155]. It was normally the bailiff's job as a comital officer to execute the punishment and see to it that exiles immediately left the county or hunt down those that continued to roam the countryside. In the case of political exiles during times of generalised rebellion, however, they often hid out in villages in the vicinity of their city, perhaps plotting new revolts. This was obviously an especially dangerous situation for the ruling elite of the town. Such a man-hunt for exiles was called a 'berijt' or 'equitatio' and the burghers were supposed to assist the bailiff in these expeditions. Many of those were organised, for instance, during the 'Revolt of Maritime Flanders' (1323-28) when Ghent continued to support the prince and internal rebels had been banished but were regrouping

[154] *Voorgeboden der stad Gent in de XIVe eeuw (1337-1382)*, ed. N. De Pauw, Ghent 1885, p. 8 and passim, p. 35

[155] *Recueil*, vol. II, p. 502-503; D. Nicholas, *Metamorphosis of a Medieval city, Ghent in the Age of the Arteveldes, 1302-1390* (Lincoln, Nebraska 1987), p. 318 n. 71; Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 151.

around the city[156]. The political exiles from Ghent, mostly weavers, maintained contact with the rebel government of Bruges and with other supporters of the popular party and apparently they had also received some financial support from a rich attorney called Jan de Smet[157]. The Ghent city accounts during these years mention several payments to the bailiff and his men and to the White Hoods, a paramilitary force of the town, who went hunting for exiles who would regroup in Deinze, Dendermonde, Tielt, Nazareth and other towns and villages not too far from the industrial city[158].

However, exiles could also sometimes make use of the custom of church asylum, even if this was strongly resisted by the urban authorities who clearly considered the practice an ecclesiastical violation of their legal competence. In 1337 the Ghent urban government ordered exiles to immediately leave their refuges in churches warning that if they failed to do so they would be taken out by force and be executed[159]. In 1367 the Bishop of Tournai made an agreement with the aldermen of Ghent which stated that town authorities were allowed to take the exiles out themselves if the latter failed to leave the church after having been summoned three times[160]. And as already mentioned, exile was also almost invariably combined with the confiscation of one's property. In 1358, for instance large scale sales of the properties of exiled rebels were organised by the comital administration[161]. The confiscated properties of exiles were also awarded to political supporters of the count Louis of Nevers after the revolt of 1323-

[156] Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 144; Nowé, *Les baillis comtaux*, p. 303-305.
[157] N. De Pauw, *L'enquête de Bruges après la bataille de Cassel. Documents inédits publiés*, Brussels 1899, p. 9, 36.
[158] For instance *Gentse Stads- en baljuwsrekeningen 1280-1336*, eds. J. Vuylsteke, A. Van Werveke, Ghent 1900-1908, vol. II, p. 540, 541, 559, 617, 618, 664.
[159] *Voorgeboden*, ed. De Pauw, p. 7; R.C. Van Caenegem, *Strafrecht*, p. 75.
[160] Lenaerts, *Het strafrecht*, p. 54-56.
[161] *Cartulaire de Louis de Male*, ed. De Limburg-Stirum, vol. II, p. 209.

28[162]. However, in 1329 commissioners of the count were charged with investigating the wealth of those exiled, condemned or fugitive rebels in order to consider which part of their confiscated properties could be returned to their innocent wives or family members so they could maintain their livelihood[163]. But even if the needs of rebels' families were to some degree taken into consideration within legal practice, for them, as for any other third parties, it was still forbidden to aid or harbour their banished relatives or to go to places where they were staying and bring them news[164].

The lives and experiences of medieval exiles are very difficult to reconstruct from the available sources although they regularly appear as a *topos* in fictional literature[165]. But the general picture we get from Flemish political exiles is one of outlaws in the *maquis*, hiding in rural areas and in small towns, or just over the border of the county and even further away in Hainaut, Brabant, Tournai, Holland or Zeeland[166], often eagerly plotting their return to the city and the overthrow of the regime that had expelled them. In February 1329, for instance, peasant rebel captain Zeger Janszone tried to start a new revolt in Flanders by coming back with 200 exiles from Zeeland, undoubtedly including urban rebels as well. He landed in the coastal town of Ostend where he could count on the sympathy of the local population, but this attempt was

[162] ADN, B, 1562, f° 232 r°.
[163] Vandermaesen, *De besluitvorming*, p. 85.
[164] L.-A. Warnkoenig and A.-E. Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre et des institutions civiles et politiques jusqu'à l'année 1305*, Paris 1864, vol. V, p. 402-403.
[165] A. Classen, *The Experience of Exile in Medieval German Heroic Poetry*, in: *Medieval German Textrelations: Translations, Editions, and Studies*, ed. S. Jefferis, Göppingen 2012, p. 83-110; D. Salter, *A Dog's Life': the Experience of Exile in Middle English Romance*, in: Fauna and Flora in the Middle Ages: Studies of the Medieval Environment and its Impact on the Human Mind, ed. S. Hartmann, Frankfurt-am-Main 2007, p. 87-96.
[166] For instance *De rekeningen der Stad Gent: Tijdvak van Jacob van Artevelde 1336-1350*, eds. N. De Pauw and J. Vuylsteke, Ghent 1874-1885, vol. III, p. 371; *Chronique et Annales de Gilles Le Muisit, abbé de Saint-Martin de Tournai (1272-1352)*, ed. H. Lemaître, Paris 1906, p. 213; Van Duyse and De Buscher, *Inventaire*, p. 118; *Cartulaire de Louis de Male*, ed. de Limburg-Stirum, vol. I, p. 369-370; ADN, B, 1595, f° 151 v°.

soon crushed. In 1331, Rogier Moenac, another former rebel captain of the town of Gistel tried to do the same thing and set foot ashore in Dunkirk with a small army of political exiles. This remains an obscure episode and it was clearly also soon defeated[167]. Still in 1332, on several occasions the aldermen of Bruges sent out messengers to Holland, Zeeland, Hainaut, Brabant and Cambrai to gain information on the plots the exiled rebels were making[168]. And on 27 December 1350, Count Louis gave the inhabitants of the Four Offices permission to arm themselves against exiles who were attacking his supporters, again from Zeeland. When such raids occurred the inhabitants of this coastal region had to sound alarm as if there was storm at sea by blowing the horns and hitting the cymbals so that the people would gather and defend themselves[169].

As they formed a frontier area of Flanders and were largely characterised by a rugged landscape, the castellanies of the Four Offices and Waas seem to have been ideal places for exiles to hide or re-enter Flanders from Zeeland. Already in 1307, the city accounts of Ghent mention that the bailiff had to be sent to Kieldrecht and Axel to investigate 'the crimes of the Zeelanders and exiles'. It seems that exiles from both Flanders and Zeeland had formed a criminal gang there under the leadership of a certain Huon le Gauwere[170]. And in 1362, Franskin Brand of Ypres was executed because he had been conspiring with Flemish exiles in Dordrecht in Holland and in Middelburg in Zeeland, supposedly to set up a conspiracy to take the Count prisoner and to kill the bailiff and the aldermen of Ypres, and all their male children older than six years[171]. On some occasions, the princes of the Low Countries would take joint

[167] Sabbe, *Vlaanderen*, p. 83.
[168] Ibid., p. 84.
[169] *Cartulaire de Louis de Male,* ed. De Limburg-Stirum, vol. I, p. 369-70.
[170] *Gentse Stads- en Baljuwsrekeningen, 1280-1336*, vol. II, p. 46, 50.
[171] Verbruggen, *Geweld*, p. 69; *Registres*, ed. De Pelsmaeker, p. 279.

measures to prevent the dangers caused by the presence of political exiles on each other's territories. In 1361, five exiles from Hainaut, Zeeland and Holland were returned to Flanders by Count Albert of Bavaria, and it was agreed with his Flemish counterpart Louis of Male that this practice must be reciprocal[172].

5. *Collective Exile as a Mass Phenomenon, c. 1328 – c. 1361*

Banishment could be ended as a result of a comital pardon, a grace which usually had to be accepted by the aldermen of the city as well. The procedure of pardon was only final when the exile paid a sum to the prince that varied according to the city and to the crime[173]. However, skilled artisans who had been exiled often either opted to settle in a foreign city in order to find work, without any hope left of going back home, or waited patiently until the political tide had turned. On 2 December 1328, for instance, more than 280 rebels from Bruges who had not showed up as hostages as their town had been sentenced for its participation in the 1323-28 rebellion were exiled for eternity and saw their property confiscated[174]. Some of these weavers might have left for England for some time and then returned. The period corresponds with Edward III's policy of encouragement of Flemish weavers to settle in England and import their skills[175]. Indeed, Jan Ackerman, Henri Meyer, and some other exiles from Bruges named in the

[172] ADB, B 1596 f° 66 r°.
[173] M. Boone, *Want remitteren is princelijck. Vorstelijk genaderecht en sociale realiteiten in de Bourgondische periode*, in: Liber Amicorum Anchiel De Vos. Aangeboden ter gelegenheid van zijn vijfenzestigste verjaardag tijdens de feestzitting in het gemeentehuis van Evergem, op 9 september 1989, eds. L. Stockman and P. Vandermeersch, Evergem 1989, p. 53; see for instance Brussels, *General State Archives*, Rekenkamers, Rolrekeningen, 839-847.
[174] Sabbe, *Vlaanderen*, p. 78; Brussels, *General State Archives*, Oorkonden van Vlaanderen 1ste reeks, n° 2158, 2159.
[175] B. Lambert and M. Pajic, *Drapery in Exile: Edward III, Colchester and the Flemings, 1351-1367*, History: The Journal of the Historical Association, 99/338, 2014 p. 733-753; M. Pajic, *Conquered Flemish Rebels: Creation of New Identity and Their Perception in 14th Century London*, In: Tatjana Silec, Alessandra Stazzone (dir.), Peuples conquérants, peuples conquis: perceptions identitaires au

1328 charter appear in the records of the English chancery[176]. And still in 1330, count Louis of Nevers and the aldermen of Ghent sent a list with 626 names of weavers from the latter city to the count of Hainaut asking that they be arrested and returned to Flanders in order to be punished for all their 'evildoings against the count and against the city of Ghent'[177]. Flemish weaver 'John Kemp', the first one to be granted a patent letter from Edward III in 1331, inviting him to come with his men and ply his trade in England as part of Edward's policy to develop a native textile industry, may have been one of these exiles, as the name of one weaver that figures on the list with the 626 names is Jehan le Kempe[178].

Indeed, during the middle of the fourteenth century mass exiles continued to follow each other in successive waves. In some of these cases, the exiles were explicitly said to have been exiled 'par loy et par jugement des eschevins', in other words after a formal trial by the urban court. We can safely assume that in many of these cases, such exiles would have been condemned by default as they were already in hiding.[179] On other occasions, exiles were clearly picked out to arrive at a certain number per craft guild that had participated in a revolt, probably adding a number of unlucky random persons to the real active rebels and their leaders. In these cases, the procedure resembled what we would now call an 'administrative' one: the prince delivered a verdict on a rebellious city stating that a given number of people was to be exiled. These persons were subsequently selected – by the urban aldermen or by the comital officers

Moyen-âge en Europe (IXe-XVe siècle) : volume issu du colloque international du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales Anglaises Paris Sorbonne (7-8 novembre 2014), Bulletin des anglicistes médiévistes, (forthcoming 2015); Van Duyse and De Buscher, *Inventaire*, p. 122

[176] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward III (16 vols.), vol. I 1327-1330,* (London 1893), p. 573;

[177] Van Duyse and De Buscher, *Inventaire*, p. 118

[178] *CPR, vol. III 1330-1334*, p. 161;

[179] For instance, Bruges, *City Archives*, Oud Archief, Groenenboek C, f° 131.

– without having been personally sentenced.[180] Sometimes it remains unclear which type of procedure was used as the sources are often vague on these matters and foremostly focus on the names of the exiles. Some of the lists thus composed include people receiving comital grace and it is not always completely clear how or by whom they had been banished in the first place (or whether they had merely been 'driven away or had fled').[181]

In collective punishments for revolts, exiles were usually only one of the measures taken against a community. Facing the massive 1323-28 revolt, for instance, Louis of Nevers had sought help in Paris and in 1328 the rebels were crushed at Cassel by the French army joined by the count and troops from Ghent. The punishment for the insurgents would be an exemplary one. In Bruges itself the rebel leaders were executed. Willem de Deken, burgomaster of Bruges and the main leader of the revolt was taken to Paris for torture and execution[182]. All the goods of the culprits were confiscated or burned and all privileges enjoyed by the rebel castellanies were revoked or revised[183]. The cities of Bruges and Ypres were convicted to have their fortifications destroyed, and hundreds of people were sent into exile and had to pay enormous fines[184].

For truly collective banishments in great numbers rather than the expulsion of only individual ringleaders or small groups of political hotheads, the revolt of 1323-28 is certainly better documented than its predecessors. As already mentioned, from this period onwards

[180] For instance De Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 710.
[181] Gilliodts van Severen, *Inventaire Bruges*, vol. II, p. 113-117.
[182] R.C. Van Caenegem, *Nota over de terechtstelling van Willem de Deken te Parijs in 1328*, Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, 90 (1953), p. 140-142.
[183] H. Pirenne, *Le soulèvement de la Flandre maritime de 1323-1328: documents inédits*, Brussels 1900, p. XXXI; J. Van Rompaey, *De Brugse keure van 1329 en de aanvullende privileges*, Bulletin de la Commission Royale des Anciennes Lois et Ordonnances de Belgique, 21 (1965), p. 35-99.
[184] Diegerick, *Inventaire*, p. 51; Gillidots van Severen, *Inventaire Bruges*, vol. I, p. 401

several *nominatim* lists of exiles have come down to us. This improved source situation also seems to reflect mass exile as a more established and even more systematic tool of repression than had previously been the case, an observation which reflects the deep and often insurmountable class and factional divisions that characterised Flemish urban society during this period[185] and can safely be compared to similar situations in many Italian city-states of the same period.

In Ypres, as the peasants from Maritime Flanders were joining forces with the commoners from Bruges, the oligarchic regime soon feared their own popular classes and, perhaps after a violent clash, had the most dangerous elements among them banished for life in the autumn of 1324. But when the commoners took power in the city in June 1325, these exiles came back and it was now the turn of many patricians to be expelled from home[186]. As we have seen, Ghent, where the merchant elite firmly held on to power, was the only major city that did not join the revolt and stayed loyal to the count. In order to preserve this situation, in 1325 a considerable number of weavers in Ghent who were suspected to adhere to the rebel party were banished by the patricians who controlled the benches of aldermen[187]. According to a chronicle, after they had been accused of alliance with insurgents from the nearby small town of Geraardsbergen, 3,000 weavers from Ghent had gone to Bruges to join the rebellion[188]. After

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[185] J. Dumolyn and M. Lenoir, *De sociaal-politieke verhoudingen binnen het Brugse stadsbestuur tidens het midden van de 14de eeuw (1326-1361),* Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge, 151 (2014), p. 323-376.

[186] Sabbe, *Vlaanderen*, p. 34, 45. For the commoners being banished in 1324, see De Pelsmaeker, p. 256. For them being pardoned in 1325, see: Brussels, *General State Archives,* Oorkonden van Vlaanderen, 1ste reeks, n° 781; *Comptes de la Ville d'Ypres de 1267 à 1329,* ed. G. Des Marez and E. de Sagher, Brussels 1909-1913, vol. II, p. 455-56; For the patricians being banished, see: Id., pp. 424, 601-2, 612, 638; After the battle of Cassel in 1328, the same people who were pardoned in 1325, were again banished, see: *Recueil*, vol. III, p. 765-767.

[187] Pirenne, *Le soulevement*, p. XXII; Fris, *Histoire de Gand*, p. 53

[188] *Chronicon comitum Flandrensium,* in: Recueil des chroniques de Flandre, ed. J. De Smet, Brussels 1837, vol. I, p. 197. A little higher in the text, it says that 'almost all weavers' from Ghent had been

the treaty of Arques in 1326, which tried to restore peace in vain, these men would remained banished[189] and they were still pursued for execution in the city surroundings until 1329[190]. After the revolt was suppressed, on 2 December 1328 the count and his council banished another 286 people from Bruges and the Liberty of Bruges who had been pinpointed to serve as hostages, all of them mentioned by name, to convoke in the Ghent beguinage of Ten Hoye but who had not showed up after a second appeal. Willem Bloc, a knight, was appointed as a special commissioner for the exiles charged with executing the sentence (the term 'bailli' was used but in the sense of an ad hoc judicial officer)[191].

In the sentence for Ypres, 500 weavers and 500 fullers were ordered to leave the city immediately and settle 'beyond the river Somme'. They were supposed to remain there for three years and continue their occupation, and only then would they be eligible for pardon[192]. The list with the names of these rebels from Ypres actually contains 814 people, more specifically, 355 weavers and 337 fullers, 58 from the smaller textile crafts, 24 from the *ymene neringhen* (small trades), 21 dyers, 6 goldsmiths, 4 shipmen, 4 tailors, 3 shearers and 2 millers, while 8 people's occupation on the list is unspecified. 97 of them (fullers and weavers) figure on a separate charter stipulating that even though they were to remain in France for three years as stipulated in the sentence above, they were also considered as hostages and that Ypres should only provide another 203 people[193]. The number of weavers and fullers exiled represented

banished, perhaps after they had left themselves, so even if the chronicle's number is exaggerated, this may have been the largest Flemish mass expulsion of the fourteenth century.

[189] Sabbe, *Vlaanderen*, p. 53.

[190] *Gentse Stads- en baljuwsrekeningen*, vol. II, p. 406, 448, 452, 454, 462, 540, 541, 542, 548, 559, 560, 597, 598, 604, 617, 618, 619, 664, 670.

[191] Brussels, *General State Archives*, Oorkonden van Vlaanderen 1ste reeks, n° 2158, 2159. On n° 2158, the word 'bailli' is written above line 28 of the original charter as if it was later added to the text. See also Sabbe, *Vlaanderen*, p. 79.

[192] Diegerick, *Inventaire*, p. 51. The list of their names is published in *Recueil*, vol. III, p. 758-769

[193] Ibid., 754.

respectively a quarter and half of the total population of these trades and must have struck a very heavy blow on the city's textile industry[194]. On the request of the aldermen of Ypres, King Philip VI of France pardoned 453 of them after less than one year and allowed them to return to their town[195]. Their absence probably weighed too heavily on the textile industry of the city, which by then was already in decline[196]. The urban elites must have realised that it would be better to appeal on the French king for some of the exiles to return. While in Ghent and Ypres it was the weavers and fullers who were the primary target for banishments, what differentiated Bruges from the other two big cities of the county is that also numerous members of the *poorters* (broadly speaking the merchant class) who were involved in the rebellion figure on the lists. However, even though the predominant group of exiles from Bruges consisted of weavers and fullers, it appears that in this case the commune as a whole was punished as in Bruges the revolt had been supported by a far broader interclass alliance than in Ghent or Ypres.

Immediately after the defeat at Cassel peace returned to the county, but not for long. As relations between England and France worsened, in Flanders, highly dependent on English wool, a strong pro-English party started to develop. In 1337, both the guilds and many richer

[194] J. Demey, *Proeve tot raming van de bevolking van Ieper, XIIIde-XVIIIde eeuw*, Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis, 28 (1950), p. 1031-1048; K. Hmittou, *Bannelingen en gijzelaars in laat-middeleeuws Vlaaanderen, XIVe-XVe eeuw*, unpublished Ma-thesis Ghent University, Ghent 1988, p. 6.

[195] *Recueil*, vol. III, p. 769.

[196] H. Van Werveke, *De omvang van de Ieperse lakenproductie in de veertiende eeuw*, Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België, 9 (1947), p. 1-32; J. H. Munro, *Urban Regulation and Monopolistic Competition in the Textile Industries of the Late Medieval Low Countries*, in: Textiles of the Low Countries in European Economic History, eds. E. Aerts and J. H. Munro, Leuven 1990, pp. 41, 44 ; Id., *Anglo-Flemish Competition in the International Cloth Trade 1340-1560*, Publications du centre européen d'études bourguignones, 35 (1995), p. 44; P. Chorley, *The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France during the 13th Century: A Luxury Trade?*, Economic History Review, 3, (1987), pp. 349-379.

burghers (*poorters*) united against the count during a revolt in Ghent. The city would now be ruled by five captains (*hooftmannen*) and by the deans of weavers, fullers and small guilds. Eventually it was James of Artevelde, citizen of Ghent, who in 1338 became the chief of the five captains, which gave him considerable power over the aldermen. After he managed to seize power in Ghent, one of the first things he did was reestablishing representatives of the weavers into the city government, from which they had been excluded since 1320 at the expense of fullers. Many of those exiled during the 1323-28 revolt could now return. By 1340, Artevelde had established his regime all over the county. While the rebels claimed to rule in name of the count, in practice, Flanders was divided into quarters which would be ruled by the 'Three Cities': Ghent, Bruges and Ypres, with the first one dominating over the two latter ones. Flanders also turned completely from the fealty to the French into an alliance with England and in 1340, when Edward III was recognised as king of France at the Friday market in Ghent[197]. Even if the legal fiction of princely rule over Flanders was maintained, in practice however, for some years, the three cities now ruled as virtual city states over their rural hinterlands, *de facto* administrating princely justice as well[198]. However, from the beginning of the Artevelde regime, pro-comital exiles and refugees gathered in Western Flanders and in Saint-Omer in the neighbouring county of Artois and were engaged in guerilla warfare with the active support of French royal officials like the bailiffs of Vermandois, Amiens and Lille[199].

[197] See on this period H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347,* Ann Arbor 1929; D. Nicholas, *The Van Arteveldes of Ghent. The Varieties of Vendetta and the Hero in History,* Ithaca 1988.
[198] M. Boone and W. Prevenier, *Le rêve d'un État urbain (quatorzième et quinzième siècles),* in : Apologie d'une ville rebelle. Histoire, art, culture, ed. J. Decavele, Antwerp 1989; D. Nicholas, *Town and Countryside social, economic and political tensions in the 14th century Flanders*, Bruges 1971.
[199] Lucas, *The Low Countries,* p. 319-320

The Three Cities wanted to establish complete control over the heavy cloth production and eliminate competition from rural areas. In the early 1340s, Ypres accused Poperinge, a town in its immediate vicinity and since long a rival in the textile industry, of repeatedly violating its privileges dealing with the production of cloth. In 1344 the long quarrel resulted in a judicial inquiry[200]. Poperinge was found guilty and according to the sentence it had to find 20 of the main culprits. They were to be banished to England for three years, and after that period they were supposed to bring letters that proved their stay over there.[201] Indeed, as the city of Ghent was arbitrating the dispute the Artevelde regime seems to have wanted to demonstrate that they took the alliance seriously by sending skilled workers to England at the same time as dealing with internal affairs. This seems plausible considering that this period corresponds to Edward III policy of further developing the cloth production within his realm[202]. However, like exiled rebels from Ghent had been a constant menace for their hometown during the revolt of 1323-1328, in this period exiles from the pro-comital party were apparently also involved in plotting their return outside Bruges. The pro-Artevelde regime which was in power in Bruges in 1342 had to send out crossbowmen and *scaerwetters*, the city police force, to the nearby villages Jabbeke and Moerkerke 'because of the exiles who were there' ('omme die ballingen diere laghen'). One Jan Busscop, a rosary maker, was mistakenly attacked and wounded by the Bruges law enforcers and was paid compensation by the city. He was not an

[200] *Recueil*, vol. III, p. 120-153

[201] *Ypre jeghen Poperinghe angaende den verboden: gedinkstukken der XIVe eeuw nopens het laken*, ed. N. De Pauw, Ghent 1899, p. 15, 231, 'ende, die claerlike gheweiten dat menre tote twinteghen sal senden drie jaer te woene in Inghelant, dewelke tenden jare goeden lettren sullen bringhen, dat zire hare residentie wel ghehouden hebben'; Diegerick, *Inventaire*, vol. II, p. 134; *Recueil*, vol. III, p. 147.

[202] *The Parliamentary Rolls of Medieval England*, eds. C. Given-Wilson et al, Woodbridge 2005, vol. IV, p. 191; *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third: in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain; from original records and authentic manuscripts,* [further on: *Statutes of the Realm*], (9 vols.) London 1810-1822, I, p. 280-81.

exile at all but perhaps as a person belonging to one of the luxury trades some of the militiamen had presumed Jan belonged to the pro-comital party whose members had been ousted from government in 1338[203].

In 1345 Artevelde was finally murdered by some of his former followers. Ironically, his murderer Gerard Denijs, dean of the weavers, was a former exiled rebel himself who had returned to the city to resume a political role under the new regime[204]. In 1346, Louis of Nevers died at the battle of Crécy and was succeeded by his son Louis of Male. He had straightaway expressed his loyalty to France and by 1348 he started an invasion of Flanders, by then deluged by civil war, to establish his rule over the county. Bruges, Ypres, the Liberty of Bruges and other castellanies gave up resistance very quickly. Ghent, led by its weavers, persevered in rebellion against the count until on 13 January 1349 the troops of Louis of Male, together with a coalition of fullers, the *poorters* and the smaller crafts of Ghent, stormed the city and bloodily crushed this last rebellious stronghold[205]. New aldermen were installed, among whom, typically, some who had themselves been banished during the Artevelde regime[206]. After Ghent had surrendered in 1348, it seems that the aldermen who had served during the Artevelde period were first taken as hostages by Louis of Male. In total there were 150 of them. They

[203] L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, 'Jacques van Artevelde', La Flandre. Revue des monuments d'histoire et d'antiquités (1878), p. 303-304; Lucas, *The Low Countries*, p. 441; for politics in Bruges during the Artevelde regime, see Dumolyn and Lenoir, *De sociaal-politieke verhoudingen*.
[204] P. Rogghé, *Gemeente ende vrient*, p. 106; De Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 249-50.
[205] M. Boone, *La construction d'un républicanisme urbain. Enjeux de la politique municipale dans les villes flamandes au bas moyen âge*, in: Enjeux et expressions de la politique municipale (XIIe-XXe siècles), eds. D. Menjot and J.-L. Pinol, Paris 1997, p. 41-60; M. Boone and H. Brand, *Vollersoproeren en collectieve actie in Gent en Leiden in de 14e en 15e eeuw*, Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis, 19 (1993), p. 168-93; J. Vuylsteke, *Goede Disendach, 13 januari 1349*, Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent, 1 (1894), p. 9-47.
[206] Rogghé, *Gemeente ende vrient*, p. 123-124.

were sent to Oudenaarde and heavily fined as they were waiting to be sent into exile[207]. At the same time, around 290 weavers from Ghent took an oath never to rebel against the count, a legal measure reflecting the same communal and corporatist logic as a collective banishment[208]. On 5 August 1349 Count Louis of Male ordered an inquiry in all the towns of Flanders to punish the rebel leaders who had withstood his and his father's authority.[209] In England, Edward III anticipated the potential persecution of hundreds of skilled artisans who had been involved in the revolt. Already in May 1350, he issued letters of protection to those Flemings who, following the failure of the rebellion, had emigrated to London, Canterbury, Norwich, Salisbury, King's Lynn and other English cities and towns. Very similar to those granted to a number of French residents in England during the same years,[210] the documents qualified the Flemings as *incolae,* a term derived from Roman law to denote permanent inhabitants born outside the kingdom. As a reward for their loyalty during the Flemish conflict, they were allowed to live in the realm, to leave, enter and move around freely and to trade their goods. Officers were instructed to protect them against physical aggression and their property against confiscation.[211]The investigation was finished two years later and on 5 October 1351 many of the participants of the revolt were sent into exile.

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[207] De Pauw, *Cartulaire Artevelde*, p. 133-137; *De rekeningen der Stad Gent,* eds. De Pauw and Vuylsteke, vol. III, p. 409-10.

[208] Ghent, *State Archives*, Oorkonden van Vlaanderen, chronologisch supplement, n° 643.

[209]*Cartulaire de Louis de Male,* ed. De Limburg-Stirum, vol. I, p. 78-9; Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire Bruges,* vol . II, p. 8- 9; The investigation was finished two years later and on 5 October 1351 many of the participants of the revolt were sent into exile and taken refuge in England as we will see later.

[210] Bart Lambert and W. Mark Ormrod, 'Friendly Foreigners: International Warfare, Resident Aliens and the Early History of Denization in England, c. 1250-c. 1400', *English Historical Review* cxxx (2015), 8-14.

[211] The letters were not entered on the chancery's patent rolls but were recorded in an inspeximus confirmation by London's court of husting in 1364. London Metropolitan Archives [hereafter cited as LMA], CLA/023/DW/93, n. 19. For the context of the confirmation, see below in this chapter, chapter 2 and Lambert, Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit'.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, political exile kept following the cycle of revolts that shaped the politics of fourteenth-century Flanders in general and the bipolar logic of opposing social groups and political factions. Jan tKint from the middle-sized textile town of Kortrijk, for instance, had been banished for the murder of Willem de Pape, a former rebel leader in that city during the revolt of 1323-28. De Pape himself had been exiled for mutiny after the latter revolt but had been allowed to return in 1338, as Count Louis de Nevers was then trying to appease his cities in order to win their favour against Engeland. However Willem De Pape was murdered somewhat later by Jan tKint and his brother Oste. Now when immediately after that a pro-Artevelde regime took power in Kortrijk, Jan tKint was exiled in his turn. However, he later claimed that this exile had been imposed on him 'by the will and force of James of Artevelde and the weavers and the other cities who then ruled Flanders against the laws and customs of Kortrijk and Flanders'. In 1350, Jan tKint became alderman of Kortrijk so after the demise of the Artevelde regime he had clearly been purified from all accusations[212]. Also in other towns, people who had been expelled during the Artevelde years, received a *rappel de ban* of the count, for instance Jehan le Preydere whose exile from Aardenburg was revoked on 3 January 1349 as he had been banished 'par la force et volenté de ceux qui adont avoient le gouvernement de nostre dicte ville' but against the will of the powerless count. The same charter was given to two other burghers of Aardenburg and to two other men from Ostend[213].

In the meantime, comital power tried to further reinforce its legal capacity of exiling political opponents. On 8 July 1351, Louis had issued a charter ordering the town of Damme,

[212] N. De Pauw, *Courtrai sous Artevelde. Enquête sur les abus des capitaines (1338-1340)*, Brussels, 1910, p. 21-23.
[213] *Cartulaire de Louis de Male*, I, p. 33.

an outport of Bruges, to banish those who had stood up against him during the Artevelde period for a period of fifty years. These people had already been exiled when the count made his entry into the city in 1348, but only for three years for 'tensemente' (violent extortion or threats), again for 'onredeliker wandelinghe' 'and other similar names' – as the charter says – because the city did not possess the privilege to exile culprits for longer terms. As these three years had now almost passed, Louis accorded Damme the liberty to exile mutineers for fifty years while 'maintaining his seigniory in these matters', i.e. the role of his bailiff as public prosecutor. He ordered the town to immediately inflict this punishment on the rebels[214]. But the spiral of revolts continued. In 1350 there was a rising of forty exiled in Ghent, who wanted to have 'law and justice' ('recht, wet ende justitie'), but in the end all but one were beheaded[215]. Perhaps this event might be linked with the possible return into the city of 150 hostages from 1348-49, mentioned above, as 33 of them escaped even before they had been taken as hostages[216]. In any case we know that in 1353, forty people who had been exiled entered Ghent bij de Muide Gate for crying out 'Flanders, the Lion!' ('Vlaenderen den leeuw')[217]. Clearly, Ghent political exiles remained a threat from outside to the new power holders in the city even years after the fall of the Artevelde regime. Some exiles who had not left the ramparts of the city might also have joined the minor rebellion organised by millers and weavers in 1353, while Louis of Male was visiting Ghent[218].

[214] L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Quartier de Bruges. Coutume des petites villes et seigneuries enclavées*, Brussels 1893, p. 233-235.
[215] *Memorieboek der stad Ghent: van 't j. 1301 tot 1737,* ed. P.C. Van der Meersch, Ghent 1852,vol. I, p. 70
[216] J. J. De Smet, *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre* , (Brussels 1837-1865), t. II, p. 287.
[217] Lenaerts, *Het strafrecht*, p. 63; *Memorieboek*, p. 74 (this chronicle has to be used with much prudence as the different versions from it date from much later).
[218] Fris, Les origines, p. 440

464 people are mentioned overall in Bruges, on a list of banished people from 1351, some of whom later appeared in England. However, there are a lot more Flemings who are mentioned in English sources during the 1350s, even though many of them could also have been refugees or simply economic migrants. Even if their names cannot be found in the list of banished people from 1351, they do appear in the lists of military musters for the urban militia from 1340 and must also have been banished at some point. In several cases their occupations correspond to the ones also mentioned in English sources. Such was the case for Giles Motard, John van Lethe and Giles Robyn. These three appear in London sources during the 1350s as weavers alongside other banished Flemings. They do not figure on the list of banished people from Bruges in 1351, but were clearly the same weavers mentioned in the Bruges muster list from a decade earlier[219]. Towards the end of the 1350s however, political exiles seemed to pose no threat to city political stability from the outside.

Indeed, the only city where the source situation allowed us to engage in an extensive prosopographical analysis of the rebels was Bruges, for which many lists of banished people[220], hostages[221] and also those who were recalled from exile[222] for the period between 1328 until 1361 survive. Most of the lists are organised according to guild membership, which allows us to establish whether the same people participated in successive revolts. In 1328, Naes Carstinman, a weaver, and Pieter Ybloot, Boudin Veltaker and Willem Varscing, the three of them fullers – to name only four randomly chosen people – found themselves on the list of

[219] *Memoranda Rolls Vol. I*, p. 249; J. F. Verbruggen, *Het gemeenteleger van Brugge van 1338 tot 1340 en de namen van de weerbare mannen*, (Brussels, 1962), p. 100-105. Pajic, *Flemish Rebels*.
[220] In 1351: Bruges, *City Archives*, Oud Archief, Groenenboek f° 110-113.
[221] In 1328: ADN, B, 263:5901.
[222] In 1359: De Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 718-723; and in 1361, Gilliodts-Van Severen, vol. III, p. 114-119.

hostages among 494 other rebels handed over as sureties to the French king. The same four were also banished in 1351[223]. The same two lists also show that rebel blood, as it were, 'ran in the family'. Thomas Sarazijn, Jan van den Driesche, and Pieter de Man, for instance, were taken hostages in 1328, while in 1351, Hannekin Sarazijn, filius Maes, Jacop van den Driesche, filius Jans, and Jan de Man, filius ser Pieter, clearly the sons of those mentioned above, were also banished[224]. 464 exiles from Bruges were recalled from exile in two contingents in 1359 and in 1361. Both lists survive and the list from 1359 contains 231 names while the list from 1361 mentions 185 persons, which leaves us with 416 names overall. 230 people of those who were offered pardon in 1359 and in 1361 are a perfect match with the list from 1351, which means that the remaining 234 (initially banished in 1351) of them either died in exile or chose to remain where they were[225]. Some of them already participated in the revolt of 1323-1328 and were either not eligible for pardon or they preferred to stay and live abroad. The latter possibility seems very plausible, as we know that in London in 1366 a quarrel took place between Flemish weavers and their bailiffs. In the documents on this incident a certain Jan Maes, a banished weaver from Bruges, appears with other exiles from Ghent as a surety for good behavior of all Flemish weavers residing there[226]. Those who returned to Bruges, such as Jan de Weerd ('John Were') or Jacop de Deken apparently had to buy their status of citizen again[227]. 71 persons on the list of collective pardon do not match the list from 1351, which

[223] ADN, B 263:5901; Bruges, *City Archives*, Oud Archief, Groenenboek f° 110-113
[224] Ibid.
[225] The authorities of Bruges were for example informed by the London officials that 'Peter Medinhoe', a weaver, who probably left before the formal sentence in 1351, had died in London. Only his son was banished in 1351, while they both figure on the muster in 1338-40. See J. C. Francis, *Calendar of letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, circa A.D. 1350-1370, enrolled and preserved among the archives of the Guildhall, edited, with an introduction*, London 1885, p. 19**;** Bruges, *City Archives*, Oud Archief, Groenenboek, C f° 110 v°**;** Verbruggen**,** *Het gemeenteleger*, p. 111**.**
[226] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 65-66; De Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 709-716.
[227] Jamees, *Brugse poorters*, p. 112-113.

makes us assume that they had been banished for various reasons in the 1350s, most likely after minor revolts that occurred in Bruges between 1351 and 1359, or simply as 'enemies of the count and the city'.

Ten days before on 25 September 1351 the sentence of banishment was pronounced by the chancery of Louis of Male, Edward III, perhaps with foreknowledge of this verdict, issued a patent letter of protection allowing all banished people from Flanders to settle in England[228]. Shortly afterwards, artisans mentioned on the lists appear in various sources in London, York, Colchester, Norwich and Northampton.[229] However, it seems that these exiles did not take refuge only in England; some of them stayed in the county and turned to piracy[230]. Others migrated to Zeeland, apparently only to return and cause new troubles, again in the region of the Four Offices[231]. It appears that some of them also tried to hide out in Brabant[232].

The Flemish political exiles also remained an unruly group when they settled abroad to exercise their trade. During the 1350s, when banished Flemings arrived in London they not only faced a different organisation of labour but also had to deal with the conditions imposed by the 'Statute of Labourers', introduced by the English Crown after the Black Death. As is generally known the main goal of this legislation was to keep the wages on the level from before the Black Death of 1349[233]. Even though all those throughout the kingdom who

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[228] *CPR, vol. IX, 1350-1354*, p. 147; *Foedera, conventiones, literae et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. Th. Rymer, London, 1816-69, vol. III, p. 232.
[229] Lambert and Pajic, *Drapery in Exile*; Pajic, *Flemish Rebels*.
[230] Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 225; *Cartulaire de Louis de Male,* ed. De Limburg-Stirum, vol. I, p. 84.
[231] Ibid. p. 47.
[232] *De rekeningen der Stad Gent,* ed. De Pauw, J. Vuylsteke, vol. III, p. 371.
[233] C. Given-Wilson, *The Problem of Labour in the Context of English Government, c. 1350-1450*, in: The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England, ed. James Bothwell, P.J.P. Goldberg and W. Mark Ormrod, York 200; Lawrence R. Poos, *The Social Context of the Statute of Labourers Enforcement*, Law and History Review, 1 (1983), p. 43-5, 48; *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. I, p. 307.

breached the new statute were to be punished by all legal tools available[234], Flemish weavers did not hesitate to organise a strike in London in 1355 in order to claim higher wages[235]. Permanent immigration of rebellious textile workers to England, France or Italy must have released Flanders of some revolutionary tension but also seems to have contributed to spreading political dissent elsewhere. During the 'Peasants' Revolt' of 1381 in England, the insurgents found a scapegoat in Flemish immigrants as they were murdered all over the country as we will see in chapter 4.[236] However, during the 1378 Ciompi revolt in Florence, Flemings participated together with other native craftsmen[237].

Conclusions of the chapter: the Rise and Fall of Collective Political Exile in Fourteenth-Century Flanders

In an effort to attain urban internal pacification through more inclusive corporatist institutions after the revolts of 1359-1361, and because of the restoration of comital authority as a result of the clever policies of Louis de Male who avoided new confrontations during period 1361-1379, the practice of large scale collective exile would gradually disappear from the end of the fourteenth century onwards[238]. Already in 1354, the count sentenced rebellious

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[234] J. L. Bolton, *The World Upside Down: Plague as an Agent of Economic and Social Change*, in: The Black Death in England, eds. P. Lindley and W. M. Ormrod, Stanford 1996), p. 17-78; B. H. Putnam, *The Enforcement of the Statute of Labourers during the first decade of the Black Death, 1349-1360*, New York 1908; Palmer, *English Law*.

[235] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 249.

[236] R. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381*, London 1973, pp. 195-198; L. Scales, *Bread, Cheese and Genocide: Imagining the Destruction of Peoples in Medieval Western Europe*, History: the Journal of the Historical Association, 2007, 92/307 pp. 284-300.

[237] A. Stella, *La révolte des Ciompi: les hommes, les lieux, le travail*, Paris 1993, p. 56-58.

[238] Also in Florence, at the end of the fourteenth century, mass exile became rarer, and the exile of specific families rather reflected conflicts within the elites themselves than large-scale social contradictions, see Millner, *Exile*, p. 177, and though this also the general impression of Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth*, p. 86-87, Heers, (*L'esilio)* and A. Brown, *Insiders and Outsiders. The Changing*

weavers to death in very explicit terms because he was finally starting to draw the obvious conclusion: exile was not a sufficient punishment as it only caused new riots and rebellions ('omdat bi banne ... vele vianden ons ende ons land worden ende tandren tijden bi sulken ballinghen sware upsetten ende mueten gheresen zijn').[239] The Flemish Counts of the house of Dampierre and their Valois Burgundy successors seemed to have been increasingly aware of this problem and thus changed their repressive policies. The old communal legal logic of collective vengeance which the counts had supported since the twelfth century and continually applied since the end of the thirteenth now had to be replaced by a more centralised authoritarian system in order to deal with political criminals.

On 12 August 1367, nine textile workers and a draper in Ypres were exiled for organizing a strike[240] but after the last great period of Flemish revolts, the so-called 'Ghent War' of 1379-1385, mass exiles were for some time replaced by exemplary executions of rebels on a larger scale. At the onset of the revolt, in 1379, according to the chronicle of Olivier van Dixmude, Count Louis of Male still used the tactic of taking 300 hostages among the Ypres textile workers and sending them to Bruges, in order to prevent the Ypres artisans joining the Ghent rebellion but this seems to be one of the final instances when such mass deportations took place[241]. It is very noteworthy that after this revolt, no new waves of mass banishments followed. Instead, the count wanted to frighten rebels with the more severe capital punishment.

Boundaries of Exile, in: Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence, ed. W.J. Connelle, Berkeley 2002, p. 337-382; however Shaw, *The Politics* thinks political exile to be still widespread during the second half of the fifteenth century.

[239] R. Lenaerts, Het strafrecht, p. 4; (State Archives of Ghent, Fonds Gent, 2, f° 12 r°).

[240] *Recueil*, vol. III, p. 788-789.

[241] *Olivier van Dixmude. Merkwaerdige gebeurtenissen*, ed. J.J. Lambin, Ypres 1835, pp. 6-8. A bit later, another 400 people were sent to Douai but they also seem to have been hostages. See also Diegerick, Inventaire, vol. II; pp. 232-233 mentions both exiles and hostages allowed to return to the city but no specificities are given.

In 1383 and 1384, 224 rebels were executed in Bruges[242]. Such mass political executions were later again moderated, however, and did not become a systematic feature within the repression of later revolts.

Under Burgundian rule over Flanders (1384-1506) mass collective exile seems to have disappeared altogether. Political banishment with only a limited number of convicts involved would still occasionally take place, for instance in 1427, and often in the context of industrial action[243]. But gone were the days when textile workers and other craftsmen would be exiled by the hundreds through simple administrative procedure as the result of a collective sentence imposed by the prince on an entire community or parts of it. Individual banishments for political crimes, however, did remain a constant feature in urban politics, usually rather in the context of smaller and more isolated incidents, however, and after a trial before the aldermen of town. An analysis of the register of exiles of the small town of Sint-Winoksbergen between 1386 and 1475, for instance, shows that during this period 696 people (74 percent of the total number) were banished 'van onproffitelick te zine', another 45 (almost 5 percent) were exiled collectively for having been present at an illegal meeting to discuss taxes in 1423 (a punishment which was later revoked) and 17 (almost 2 percent) for participating in riots. The 'unprofittable' people were usually exiled for periods of three or six years[244].

In Ghent as well, smaller groups of rebels were still being exiled in the fifteenth century, for instance after a revolt in 1432[245]. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the number

[242] J. De Smet, *De repressie te Brugge na de slag bij Westrozebeke. 1 december 1382 – 31 augustus 1384. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de sociale en economische toestand van de Brugse bevoling*, Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, 84 (1947), p. 77.
[243] I. L. A. Diegerick, *Les drapiers yprois et la conspiration manquée: épisode de l'histoire d'Ypres (1428-1429)*, Bruges 1856.
[244] K. Papin, Repressie of Gratie?, p. 294, 303-304.
[245] Boone, Geld en macht, p. 197.

of revoked exiles in Ghent, the great majority for common offences, who had received a comital remission counted on the average a hundred per year. Gangs of wandering criminal exiles on the countryside remained a problem[246] but political exile as a kind of relic of communal law and corporate logic of urban politics was gradually replaced by firmer repressive measures and by other financial, legal and ritual punishments of the body politic of rebellious towns in general by more centralised state[247]. The communal model of collective vengeance by exclusion now became one of real and symbolic state violence with more emphasis on taking away privileges and on imposing fines as collective punishments accompanied by honorable amends and exemplary executions.

All in all, as a legal relic of communal collective vengeance collective political exile, even if imposed by the count rather than by the urban authorities themselves, could be applied in the interests of the prince and the elites but also in the interests of the popular classes and oppositional factions once the latter had taken power in the city. Political exile thus proved to be an element of continuous instability rather than a way of dealing effectively with civic strife. The collective banishment of political enemies could be aimed at a city as a whole, or at specific corporatist groups rather than at specific rebels. The commoners, or indeed the whole body politic of the town was collectively punished by picking out representative numbers of guildsmen from each guild, and sometimes also from the burgher class or *poorterie*. Some of those selected for exile, or for the related practice of hostage-taking, were obviously the

[246] Ibid., p. 195-197.

[247] Boone, *Destructions des villes et menaces de destruction, éléments du discours princier aux Pays-Bas bourguignons*, In : Stadtzerstörung und Wiederaufbau. 2 : Zerstörung durch die Stadtherrschaft, innere Unruhen und Kriege - Destruction et reconstruction des villes. 2 : Destruction par le pouvoir seigneurial, les troubles internes et les guerres - Destruction and reconstruction of towns. 2 : Destruction by the Lord's power, internal troubles and wars, ed. M. Körner, Stuttgart 2000 ; Dumolyn, *The Legal Repression*.

ringleaders in their guild joining into rebellion rather than individual justice but many other people were clearly just unlucky in being put on the list as members of their guild. In Bruges, the division of those people exiled according to their guild or other affiliation on the lists picked out to be banished usually corresponded with the actual proportion of these groups within the city population. Thus, the same proportions of *poorters* and different craft members are noticeable on the lists of hostages in 1305 and 1328, as well as on the list of pardoned rebels in Bruges in 1359[248]. For Ghent and Ypres and other towns, things are less clear but we can safely assume that by far the most numerous were weavers, since in England, where most of them took refuge, in its sources they mostly appear as weavers.

Textile workers and especially the weavers were certainly the primary targets of the practice of collective exile, for they were also the most rebellious group in fourteenth-century Flanders. But in some sense, as they had always been a mobile group of workforce – many of them migrating from one place to another – as certainly the highly skilled Flemish weavers could easily settle in new upcoming industrial centres in need of workforce, exile was not a very effective punishment for this group at all. On the contrary, exactly like in Italy, collective exile seems to have promoted trans-regional networks of subversive elements. Mobility of exiled rebels always remained a potential menace to political stability and was dealt with by Count Louis de Male in the latter half of his reign, and by his successors as counts, the new Burgundian dukes who developed a systematic and long-term policy of eliminating the subversive power of the cities and their popular classes.

[248] ADN, B, 263:5901; De Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 718-723.

A number of similar or related legal phenomena still await a systematic study. The dynamics of the cycle of fourteenth-century Flemish revolts which irreconcilably opposed different parties, factions and social groups led to a logic of collective and corporate responsibility which is also present in forced pilgrimages and oaths imposed on rebels or potential rebels, mostly of the textile guilds, a subject which also deserves a study of its own. After they had been defeated by the commoners during a revolt in Ghent in April 1302, the Lilies had to swear a collective oath or else be killed[249]. The same measure would be imposed on rebels on several other occasions during the fourteenth century, for instance in Ypres in 1304, on 290 weavers in Ghent in 1362 or the rebels from Bruges in 1361 and 1380, or of Diksmuide in 1361. Typically they had to swear to be loyal and obedient citizens and would never rise up against the Count and the city government anymore or else they would lose their lives and belongings[250]. But during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such legal relics of communal law also gradually disappeared altogether. As was the case for collective political exile, they were to be replaced with a new type of legal repression, be it a physical, fiscal or symbolic one: the far better organised mass violence of the early modern state.

[249] Verbruggen, *1302 in Vlaanderen*, p. 14.
[250] *Recueil*, vol. III, p. 740-742; Ghent, State Archives, *Oorkonden van Vlaanderen, chronologisch supplement, n° 643*; Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire Bruges*, vol. III, p. 114-119; ADN, B, 1566, f° 21 r° - 22 v°.

Chapter 2 – Flemish immigrants in London, Colchester and Great Yarmouth 1351-1381[251]

Introduction

We have seen above that both pull and push factors were acquired before the 1351 and thus made it possible for the Flemings to move to England. The purpose of this chapter will therefore be to present the profile, the numbers, occupations and in which parts of London, Colchester and Great Yarmouth the immigrants took residence. The main focus will be on those that were exiled from Flanders after the rebellion and on those that we were able to follow from the sources on the other side of the English Channel. I will start with the fortunes of the Flemish immigrants in the English capital, then continue with the small town of Colchester, based on the East Coast in the county of Essex, to finally go to Great Yarmouth, the port town of the county of Norfolk. In order to reinforce my argument that the Flemish presence was higher than it was thought before, I will conclude the chapter with some insights on their presence in other parts of England than these three towns.

[251] Parts 1 and 2 of this chapter are entirely based on research conducted for articles accepted for publication or already published in connection with the project IAP City and Society: Milan Pajic, 'Flemish Rebels in Exile Creation of New Identity and Their Perception in 14th Century London', In: Tatjana Silec, Alessandra Stazzone (dir.), *Peuples conquérants, peuples conquis: perceptions identitaires au Moyen-âge en Europe (IXe-XVe siècle)* : volume issu du colloque international du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales Anglaises Paris Sorbonne (7-8 novembre 2014), *Bulletin des anglicistes médiévistes*, 2015, p. 187-206; Milan Pajic, 'Xénophobie et Intégration : le cas de la communauté flamande de Colchester 1351-1367', *Revue du Nord*, 2016 (forthcoming); B. Lambert and M. Pajic, 'Drapery in Exile: Edward III, Colchester and the Flemings, 1351-1367', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 99/338, 2014, p. 733-753; B. Lambert and M. Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth-Workers, Flemish Exiles and Royal Policy in Fourteenth Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 55/4, 2016. The remainder of the chapter (parts 3, 4, 5) is based on additional new research.

1. *Flemings in London*

The only other place in England where Edward III's letters of protection are known to have had a considerable effect is London.[252] The names of fifty-one exiles included in the 1351 lists of banishments match almost exactly with those of Flemish artisans who, according to the city's letter books, the memoranda and fine rolls, the aulnage accounts, and a variety of other sources,[253] were dwelling in the capital during the twenty-five years following the investigation (see table 1). Whereas some of the exiles in Colchester came from smaller Flemish towns and villages, all but two of those found in London originated from the large cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres. In thirty-four of the fifty-one cases, the Flemish lists of exiles provide us with an occupation. Only one of them, carpenter John de Gaunt from Bruges, had no connection to the textile sector. John de Langford worked as a fuller; Lamsin Iperling was a shearer. The remaining thirty-one immigrants were all banished weavers. Many of the exiles in London had occupied key positions in Flanders during the years of the revolt. Levin Godhalse had served

[252] One exile, Coppin Issac from Diksmuide, was admitted to the freedom of Lynn in 1351. *A Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn, 1292-1836, Compiled from the Records of the Corporation of the Borough by Permission of the Town Clerk* (Norwich, 1913), 12. Banished Flemish weaver Lawrence Conync became a freeman of York in 1354. Francis Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York: Vol. I, 1272-1558*, Surtees Society no. 96 (Durham, 1897), 48. Another exile, Jan van Oostborch, was pardoned for the murder of a Brabanter in Norwich in 1355. *CPR, 1354-1358*, 284.

[253] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1375-6, 1376-7, E 101/340/22, m. 3; E 101/340/23, mm. 5, 5d, TNA; Verdict King's Bench, 1357, KB 27/386, m. 75, TNA; Verdict Court of Common Pleas, 1353, CP 76, m. 15, LMA; Reginald R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Letter-Book G* (London, 1905) (henceforth *LBG*), 48, 104, 130, 115-19, 237, 250; Reginald R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall: Letter-Book H* (London, 1907), 77; A.H. Thomas, ed., *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the city of London at the Guildhall*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1926), 1: 248; 2: 65-6, 67, 70, 195; Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91; Riley, *Memorials*, 332; Reginald R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, circa A.D. 1350-1370, Enrolled and Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation at the Guildhall* (London, 1885), 19, 75; *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1356-1368*, 193.

as alderman of Ghent in 1348.[254] Giles Ripegast had been one of the city captains in Ghent,[255] John de Cranburgh in Bruges.[256] Lamsin de Vos was one of Bruges' most important drapers and had acted as dean of its weavers guild in 1347.[257] Exiles John Cockelar and Lamsin Iperling had sold large quantities of cloth and fabric for linings to the Bruges city government throughout the 1340s.[258] Unlike Colchester and Great Yarmouth, London attracted the top layer of Flanders' reputed textile industry. Their prominent roles during the years of the rebellion had cost them most of their political leverage, but they brought economic and social capital with them to England.

[254] Napoleon De Pauw and Julius Vuylsteke, eds., *De Rekeningen der stad Gent: tijdvak van Jacob van Artevelde 1336-1349, Volume 3* (Ghent, 1885), 273.
[255] Ripegast was one of the few who returned to Flanders after being pardoned in 1359. Paul Rogghé, "Gemeente ende Vrient: Nationale Omwentelingen in de XIVde eeuw," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges* 89, no. 3-4 (1952) : 101-135, at 125.
[256] Expenses for Cloth and Lining, 1343-4, City Accounts, 1343-4, fol. 56 r., Bruges City Archives.
[257] As Ripegast, de Vos returned after 1359. Georges Espinas and Henri Pirenne, eds., *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandre : volume 2* (Brussels, 1906), 576 ; James M. Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism, 1280-1390* (Cambridge, 2005), 287, 292.
[258] Expenses for Cloth and Lining, 1343-4, 1344-5, City Accounts, 1343-4, fols. 56 v., 58 v., 61 v; 1344-5, fols. 58 r., 63 r., Bruges City Archives; See chapter 6 as well.

Table 2.1: Names of Flemings appearing both in the London sources between 1351 and 1375 and on the lists of exiles of 1351 and those pardoned in 1359

London Sources, 1351-75	Flemish Lists of Exiles in 1351 and Pardons in 1359
Maas van Brugge[259]	Maes van der Brughen, weaver, from Ghent[260]
John Brunhals[261]	Jan Bruunhals, weaver, from Ghent[262]
William Brunhals[263]	Willem Bruunhals, weaver, from Ghent[264]
Ras Bruwer[265]	Rase de Bruwere, from Ghent[266]
John Capelle[267]	Jan van der Capelle, weaver, from Ghent[268]
Henry Clofhamer[269]	Wife of Heinric Clofhamers, from Ghent[270]
Peter Crayman[271]	Pieter Crayman, weaver, from Ghent[272]
Levin van Dyke[273]	Lievin van Dike, weaver, from Ghent[274]
Levin Fisker[275]	Merrin, Lievin Vischers wife, from Ghent[276]
John Gaunsterman[277]	Jan Gansterman, weaver, from Ghent[278]

[259] *CPMR*, 1: 248; Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91.
[260] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 714
[261] Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91.
[262] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 712
[263] Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91.
[264] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 714
[265] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1376-7, E 101/340/23, m. 5, TNA.
[266] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 716.
[267] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1375-6, E 101/340/22, m. 3, TNA; Particulars of Customs Accounts 1365-6, E 122/70/18 m. 1d, TNA.
[268] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 717.
[269] *CPMR*, 2: 65-6; Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91; Riley, *Memorials*, 332.
[270] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 712.
[271] *LBG*, 250.
[272] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 712.
[273] *CPMR*, 2: 65-6.
[274] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 716.
[275] Particulars of Customs Accounts 1365-6, E 122/70/18 m. 1, TNA.
[276] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 715.
[277] *CPMR*, 2: 65-6; Riley, *Memorials*, 332.
[278] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p.714.

Levin Godhalse[279]	Lievin Goethals, weaver, from Ghent[280]
John le Groterre[281]	Jan de Grutere, weaver, from Ghent[282]
John Kempe, weaver, Fleming, citizen of London[283]	Jan de Kempe, weaver, from Ghent[284]
Laurence de Magh, merchant draper from Ghent[285]	Lauwerin de Maech, from Ghent[286]
John Maaz[287]	Jan Maes, weaver, from Ghent[288]
Gilles Meyfrot[289]	Gillis Meinfrot, from Ghent[290]
William the Meyr[291]	Willem de Meyer, weaver, from Ghent[292]
Henry Navegher[293]	Hanin Navegheer, weaver, from Ghent[294]
Levin Olivier[295]	Lievin Oliviers, weaver, from Ghent[296]
John Pape[297]	Jan de Pape, weaver, from Ghent[298]
John Poules[299]	Jan van den Poule, from Ghent[300]

[279] Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91.
[280] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 715
[281] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1375-6, E 101/340/22, m. 3, TNA; *LBG*, 131.
[282] List of Exiles Eligible for Pardon, 1359, Série B, 1596, f. 22 r., Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord
[283] Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91; *CPMR*, 2: 116; *LBG*, 182, 250; 1364, CLA/023/DW, roll 93, n. 19, LMA.
[284] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 713
[285] *CPMR*, 2: 67.
[286] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 716
[287] *CPMR*, 2: 65-6.
[288] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 712.
[289] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1376-7, E 101/340/23, m. 5d, TNA.
[290] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 711.
[291] *CPMR*, 1: 248; *LBG*, 250; Riley, *Memorials*, 332.
[292] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 716.
[293] *CPMR*, 2: 65-6.
[294] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 713.
[295] Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91; *LBG*, 48.
[296] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 716
[297] *CPMR*, 1: 248.
[298] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 714.
[299] *CPMR*, 2: 8.
[300] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 713.

Giles Ripegast[301]	Gilis Ripegheerste, from Ghent[302]
Arnold Skapkynkyl, merchant and draper[303]	Arnald Scaepscinkel, from Ghent[304]
John van Stene, merchant draper of Ghent[305]	Jan van den Steene, from Ghent[306]
John Tybes[307]	Jan Tybus , weaver, from Ghent[308]
Nijs van den Vyure, merchant draper[309]	Nijs van den Vivere, from Ghent[310]
James Westland[311]	Jacop Westland, from Ghent[312]
John van Wetere[313]	Jan van Wetere, from Ghent[314]
William van Aughten[315]	Willem van Auchten, from Bruges[316]
Peter de Bakere[317]	Pieter Bakere, weaver, from Bruges[318]
John Cockelar[319]	Jan van Coukelare, weaver, from Bruges[320]

[301] *CPMR*, 1: 248.
[302] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 715
[303] *CPMR*, 2: 70.
[304] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 712
[305] *CPMR*, 2: 9.
[306] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 711.
[307] *CPMR*, 1: 248.
[308] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 711.
[309] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1376-7, E 101/340/23, m. 5, TNA; *CPMR*, 2: 70.
[310] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 712.
[311] 1364, CLA/023/DW, roll 93, n. 19, LMA.
[312] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 711.
[313] *CPMR*, 2: 84; Riley, *Memorials*, 332.
[314] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 715.
[315] Riley, *Memorials*, 332.
[316] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 709.
[317] *CPMR*, 2: 6.
[318] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 720.
[319] 1364, LMA, CLA/023/DW, roll 93, n. 19.
[320] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 111 r., Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.

John de Cranburgh, citizen of London[321]	Jan de Cranenburg, weaver, from Bruges[322]
John Gallyn[323]	Jan Gallin, fuller, from Bruges[324]
John de Gaunt, carpenter[325]	Jan van Ghend, carpenter, from Bruges[326]
John de Gaunt, weaver, Fleming[327]	Jan van Ghent, weaver, from Bruges[328]
Joceus Amelryk, merchant[329]	Joos Hemelric, from Bruges[330]
Francis Fan Yabek, merchant and weaver[331]	Franse van Jabbeke, weaver, from Bruges[332]
John de Langford, fuller[333]	Jan van Langhevorde, fuller, from Bruges[334]
Jacob van Loo[335]	Jacob van Loo, weaver, from Bruges[336]
John van Loo[337]	Jan van Loo, weaver, from Bruges[338]

[321] Reginald R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, circa A.D. 1350-1370, Enrolled and Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation at the Guildhall* (London, 1885), 75.
[322] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 111 r., Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.
[323] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1376-7, E 101/340/23, m. 1d, TNA.
[324] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 111 v, Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.
[325] *LBG*, 117.
[326] *Cartulaire des Artevelde,* p. 721.
[327] Verdict King's Bench, 1357, KB 27/386, m. 75, TNA.
[328] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 111 r, Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.
[329] *CPMR*, 2: 198.
[330] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 111 r., Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.
[331] *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (henceforth *CFR*), *1356-1368*, 193.
[332] *Cartulaire des Artevelde,* p. 719 ; List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 112 r, Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.
[333] *LBG*, 117; 1364, CLA/023/DW, roll 93, n. 19, LMA.
[334] *Cartulaire des Artevelde,* p. 720.
[335] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1376-7, E 101/340/23, m. 5d, TNA.
[336] *Cartulaire des Artevelde,* p. 720 ; List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 111 r, Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.
[337] *CPMR*, 2: 65-6; Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91.
[338] *Cartulaire des Artevelde,* p. 720 ; List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 111 r, Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.

Peter Medinhoe[339]	Pieter Medinoghe the Younger, weaver, from Bruges[340]
Peter More[341]	Pieter vanden Moere, weaver, from Bruges[342]
Giles Onyng, merchant[343]	Gillis Conyng, weaver, from Bruges[344]
Peter de Pape[345]	Pieter le Pape, weaver, from Bruges[346]
John Rossart, merchant draper[347]	Jan Roetsard, weaver, from Bruges[348]
John ate Ryk[349]	Jan Rijx, weaver, from Bruges[350]
Paul Stolpart[351]	Pauwels Stalpaert, weaver, from Bruges[352]
Lamsin de Vos[353]	Lamsin de Vos, weaver, from Bruges[354]
Johan atte Werre[355]	Jan de Weerd the Elder, weaver, from Bruges[356]

[339] Reginald R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, circa A.D. 1350-1370, Enrolled and Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation at the Guildhall* (London, 1885), 19.
[340] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495, Bruges City Archives.
[341] *CPMR*, 2: 251.
[342] L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges*, Bruges 1871-1885, vol. II, p. 114.
[343] *CPMR*, 2: 195.
[344] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 110 v, Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.
[345] *CPMR*, 1: 248.
[346] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495, Bruges City Archives.
[347] *CPMR*, 2: 67.
[348] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 111 r., Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.
[349] *CPMR*, 1: 248.
[350] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 113 v., Bruges City Archives
[351] *CPMR*, 2: 84.
[352] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 116 r., Bruges City Archives
[353] 1364, LMA, CLA/023/DW, roll 93, n. 19.
[354] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 720 ; List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Cartulary Groenenboek C, f. 111 r, Bruges City Archives; Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495.
[355] Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91.
[356] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 719.

Lamsin Iperling[357]	Lamsin Yperlinc, shearer, from Bruges[358]
John van Somerkyn/Somergham[359]	Jan van Zomergheem, weaver, from Bruges[360]
Jacob van Ackere, citizen of London, weaver[361]	Jacop van Ackere, from Ypres[362]
John van Dorme[363]	Jan van Doorne, from Ypres[364]
John Marchaunt, weaver[365]	Jan Marchant, from Ypres, and his wife Griele[366]
John Velleyn[367]	Jan de Villain, from Ypres[368]
Baldwin Giles[369]	Boudin Gillis, from Poperinge[370]
Lambert Funderlynde, weaver[371]	Lambrecht van der Linde, from Poperinge[372]

Only very exceptionally do the London sources allow us to establish whether the Flemish exiles were accompanied by their wives and children. In 1353, Lamsin Iperling was sued before the Court of Common Pleas together with his spouse Agnes for breaking into a house near the Tower.[373] Only one exile, John Marchaunt of Ypres, figures on the 1351 lists

[357] Verdict Court of Common Pleas, 1353, CP 76, m. 15, LMA.
[358] List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495, Bruges City Archives.
[359] *CPMR*, 1: 248; Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, 188-91
[360] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 719 ; List of Exiles and Enemies of the Count of Flanders, 1351, Politieke charters 1e reeks, nr. 495, Bruges City Archives.
[361] *CPMR*, 2: 116; *LBG*, 250.
[362] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 732.
[363] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1376-7, E 101/340/23, m. 5d, TNA; Particulars of Customs Accounts 1365-6, E 122/70/18 m. 1d, TNA.
[364] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 733.
[365] *LBG*, 48, 204.
[366] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 734.
[367] *LBH*, 77.
[368] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 733.
[369] *CPMR*, 2: 65-6.
[370] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 731
[371] *LBG*, 104.
[372] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 730
[373] Verdict Court of Common Pleas, 1353, LMA, CLA/023/CP 76, m. 15.

with his wife. It does not necessarily follow that the others immigrated alone, as the case of Henry Clofhamer shows. Clofhamer, banished from Ghent, appears repeatedly in the London sources throughout the 1350s and 1360s.[374] In 1359, his anonymous wife, who had never been mentioned before, was pardoned and recalled to Flanders,[375] which implies she had been in England during the previous years. Some of the exiles, such as John and William Brunhals from Ghent or Jacob and John van Loo from Bruges, bear the same surnames and may have been related to each other. The banished Flemings in London still maintained contact with friends and relatives on the other side of the Channel as well. According to a verdict by the Ghent bench of aldermen, for example, John van Wetere received annual visits from Ghent money changer Feyns de Backer in his house in the English capital at the end of the 1350s.[376]

Apart from the 55 exiles, there are at least 287 immigrants from the Low Countries (both men and women) appearing in London sources during the thirty-year period (1351-1381). They originated mostly from the county of Flanders and from the Duchy of Brabant. The latter were numerous and powerful enough to obtain their own ordinances and to separate from the Flemish guild of weavers. From 1362, they elected two of their own masters yearly next to the masters of the guild of English weavers and the guild of Flemish weavers.[377] The occupations of those 287 individuals are mostly related to the production or sale of cloth. Most of them (129) were weavers, 2 fullers, 16 of them worked as merchants or merchant drapers, some of them were employed in other crafts, i.e. as carpenters while women were employed as brewsters, huxters and workers in the first stages of production of clothes, while for some of

[374] Verdict Court of Exchequer, 1352, E 13/76, mm. 97-98d, TNA; *CPMR*, 2: 65-6.
[375] De Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, 715.
[376] Verdict Aldermen of the Keure, 18 January 1360, Series 301: Registers of the Keure, volume 1, 1360-1, fol. 64 r, Ghent City Archives.
[377] Riley, *Memorials of London*, 345-46.

them, the occupations were not stated. However, in most cases when the occupation is not stated, Flemish immigrants appeared in the context or with other immigrants that were related with production or sale of cloth.

Upon their arrival, there are indications that they settled around Candlewick, Cheap, and areas around the river Thames, primarily inhabited by London drapers.[378] John Eversword of Zealand owned a house at Candlewick Street, six other Flemings were buried at St. Swithin's cathedral, which was also in the same street before it burned in the great fire of London.[379] Katherine the Dutchwoman lived in a house at Finch Lane at Cheap, while the Flemish exile John Moy dwelled in a tenement in Friday Street, less than five minutes' walk from Upper Thames Street.[380] It seems that they were in discord with the immigrants from Brabant since in 1362 they petitioned to Mayor and Aldermen of London to order that the Flemish hold meetings at St. Lawrence Pounteney and Brabanters at St. Mary Somerset, "because that the Flemings and the Brabanters were wont to fight and make very great affray in the City".[381] These two churches are not so far from the places where they settled, also according to the wills approved in the Archdeaconry court of London, 2 Flemings were buried at St. Lawrence Pounteney Church. (Map 1)

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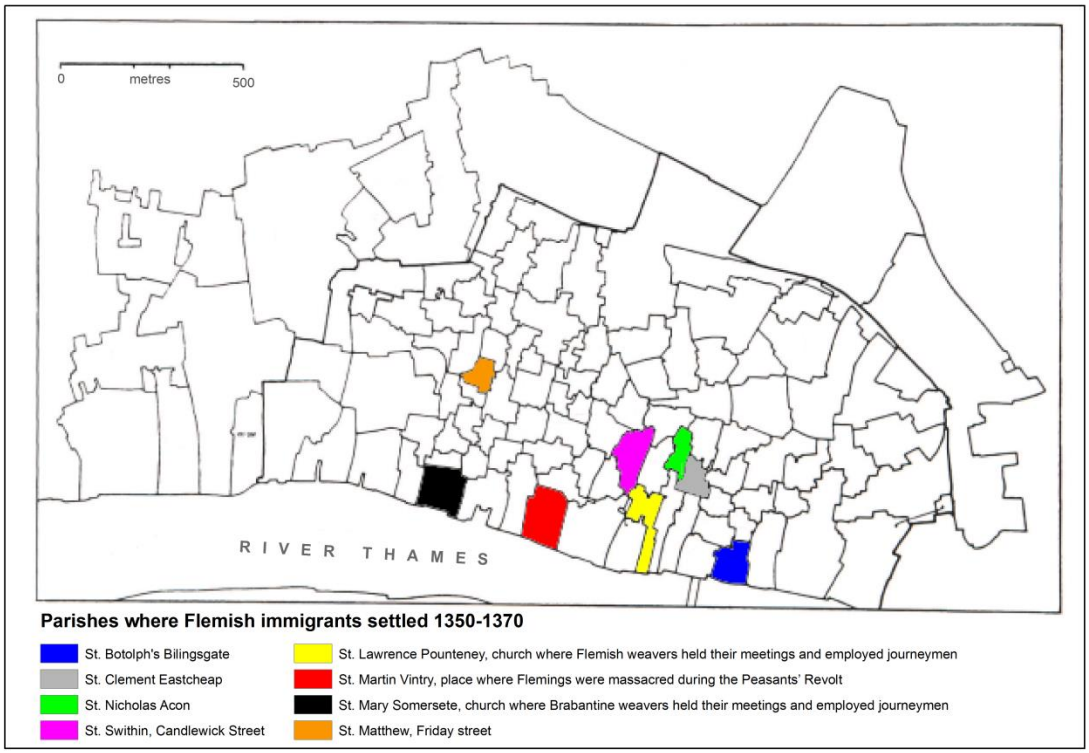
[378] For the parishes of settlement of London drapers in the fourteenth century, check Eleanor Quinton, 'The Drapers and the Drapery Trade of Late Medieval London, c. 1300-c. 1500', Unpublished PhD dissertation, London, 2001, pp. 25-26

[379] M. Fitch, *Index to Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court of London, Vol. I: 1374-1488*, London, 1969, p. 189: Herman van den Lynden, tailor in1390, London Metropolitan Archives GLMS 9171/1 fol. 201, Roger van der Ofstede in 1375, Ibid. fol. 26 v°, Walter Paridane, in 1390, Ibid. fol. 218d and William van Reven in 1376, Ibid. fol. 26 v° ; *Memoranda Rolls vol. II*, p. 209.

[380] Misc roll DD n. 413 *Assize of London nuisance 1301-1431*; H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London life, in the 13th, 14th, and the 15th centuries, being a series of extracts, local, social and political from the early archives of the city of London A.D. 1276-1419*, Longmans, Green & co, London, 1868, p. 375.

[381] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 345-46.

Map 1. London parishes 1350-1400



As the evidence of admissions to the freedom of the city of London for this period does not survive, indirectly, we know that four Flemings became citizens. John Kempe, from Ghent, and Jacob van den Ackere, from Ypres, both banished in 1351, are registered as citizens of London in 1369.[382] However, ties with their country and fellow countrymen were not broken. For example, the aforementioned John Kempe, still exported white cloths to Flanders through another merchant draper Francis van Yabek, who was banished from Bruges and also settled in London in 1351.[383] Their professional integration also seems to have been immediate, as

[382] *Memoranda Rolls vol. II*, p. 116.
[383] *Calendar of fine Rolls 1356-1369*, p. 193; SAB, Groenenboek C f° 112 r°.

Flemish weavers did not hesitate to organise a strike in 1355 and demand higher daily wages.[384] There is also evidence that a second generation of exiles stayed in London. Ralph Cloffhamer, son of an exile Henry Cloffhamer from Ghent becomes a bailiff of Flemish weavers in 1375.[385] Even though there are some success stories of integration, the reaction of the London cloth workers to the arrival of a new contingent of state-sponsored newcomers from overseas, as we will see later, was everything but hearty.

Immediately after the sentence of banishing the rebels was pronounced in 1351, the number of Flemish names in English sources grew drastically. The sudden arrival of more than 1000 people made the Crown issue a patent letter in 1352, which in a way defines their legal position within the realm.[386] Of course, by this letter, the king gives them general protection and a privilege to exercise their craft without being compelled to be a part of the guild of London or any other city where they shall stay. They were also granted the right to elect two of their fellow countrymen to survey the work and good behaviour of other Flemish craftsmen. And thus, from the end of 1352 onwards, the names of their bailiffs, among whom were exiles such as Lambert Funderlynde, John le Gurterre, and Henry Navegher, were recorded regularly in the city's letter books (Table).[387] Finally, it gives them the right to plead in English courts

[384] *Memoranda Rolls Vol. I.*, p. 249; This strike was probably a result against the measures taken by the government to prevent economic situation that arose after the arrival of the bubonic plague of 1349. The Black Death caused the shortage of manpower which automatically induced the increase in wages. The government issued the Statute of Labourers in 1351 with the primary goal to keep the wages at the level from 1346. It seems that Flemish exiles were just showing their discontentment with these measures. For more information on the Statute of Labourers see: Chris Given-Wilson, « The problem of labour in the context of English government, *c.* 1350-1450 », in: James Bothwell, P.J.P. Goldberg and W. Mark Ormrod (eds.), *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England* (York, 2000) ; Lawrence R. Poos, « The social context of the Statute of Labourers enforcement », *Law and History Review*, 1 (1983), pp. 43-5, 48;
[385] *Letter Books G*, p. 329
[386] *CPR, 1350-1354*, p. 147.
[387] *Letter Books G*, pp. 2, 16, 48, 104, 131, 237; *Memoranda Rolls*, 2: p. 84.

whatever their jurisdiction, something which was not a case for other people born overseas.[388] Even though the letter patent of 1352 gives the right to the Flemings to organize themselves into guild and elect their bailiffs in any town in England where they settled, as we will see later, there is no evidence of them doing so elsewhere than in London.

Table 2.2: Bailiffs of the Flemish weavers in London 1352-1377

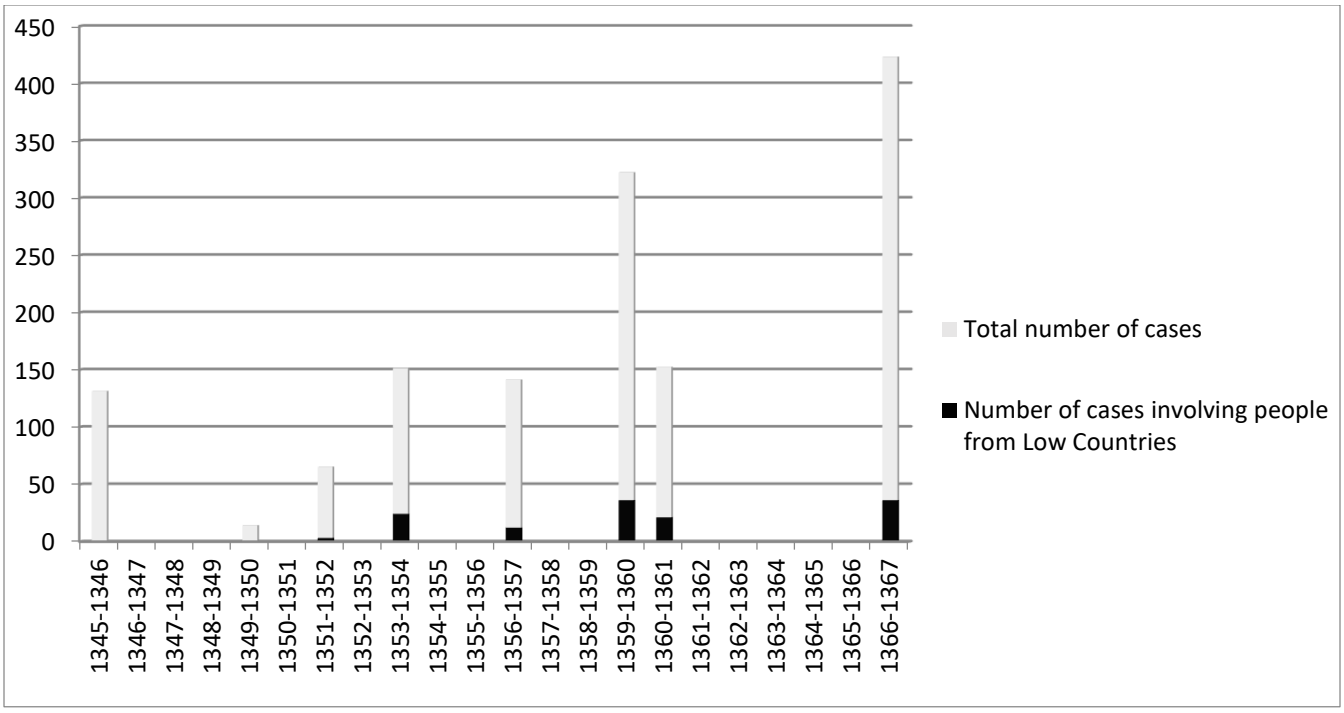
Year	Bailiffs
1352	Henry Worre
1353	Henry Were and John de Somerynghamm
1354	Giles Ripegarst and Peter atte Broke
1355	John Marchaunt de Ipre and Leuyn Oliver
1358	John Vanevergam and Lambert Funderlynde
1361	John le Gruttere and Peter Vanthebrok
1363	John Jonkere and William atte Brugges
1364	John Vunkyn and Giles van Belle
1365	Gerard Vanderheth and Baldewyn Gylot
1366	Gerard van Brugge and William van Brugge
1367	John van Wettre and Paul Stolpard
1368	Peter atte Broke. Henry van the Necke
1369	John Van Everyngham and Henry Naverger
1370	Gerard van Brugge and William van Dayser
1371	John van Everyngham and Dederic Jorys
1372	Henry van Necke and Peter atte More
1373	John Everyngham and Peter Van Broke
1375	Peter atte Broke and John Fanasseverne
1376	William Lanotes and William Vandaye
1377	John Veleyn, Ralph Clofham

[388] Keechang Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law*: *the Origins of Modern Citizenship*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

2. *Flemings in Colchester*

Shortly after the Flemish sentence was issued, the rolls of the hundred court and the court of pleas of the Essex town of Colchester reveal a significant increase in the number of people from the Low Countries that entered private litigation. Records have been preserved for only eight of the twenty-one years between 1345-6 and 1366-7 but still allow to discern an obvious trend.[389] In August and September 1352, the first three visitors from across the North Sea since the start of the rolls' survival in 1310 made their appearance (3,2 per cent of the total cases that year). During the year 1353-4, already twenty-four out of a total of 127 cases (18,9 per cent) involved litigants from the Low Countries. In 1356-7, the number drops to twelve out of 129 (9,3 per cent). In 1359-60 the court dealt with them in thirty-six of the 286 cases (12,6 per cent). The roll for 1360-1 has only been preserved fragmentarily but still contains 131 cases, twenty-one of which refer to people from the Low Countries (16 per cent). In 1366-7, they appear in thirty-six of the 387 cases (or 7,5 per cent) (see graph 1.1).

[389] Essex Record Office [hereafter ERO], D/B 5, CR 9, mm. 7, 8, 8d, calendared in W.G. Benham (ed.), *The Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester* (2 vols., Colchester, 1921-38) [hereafter Benham, *Court Rolls*], I, pp. 230-7. For the preservation of the borough court rolls, see Richard H. Britnell, 'Colchester courts and court records, 1310-1525', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 17 (1986) [hereafter Britnell, 'Colchester courts'], pp. 133-40.



Graph 1.1: Number of cases involving people from the Low Countries compared to the total number of cases before the Colchester borough courts between 1345 and 1366.

Of those 126, twenty-five can be identified with absolute certainty as Flemings exiled in 1351 or pardoned in 1359 (see table 1.1). Most of them, twelve, came from Ghent, the county's most populous city that played a leading part in the rebellion of the 1330s and 1340s and was most severely hit during the repression in its aftermath. The abbey village of Saint Bavo, in its immediate vicinity, furnished another three litigants. Three exiles originated from Bruges, second largest city of Flanders, while the secondary towns of Oudenaarde, Diksmuide, Nieuwpoort and Bailleul were responsible for the remaining seven.[390] Bearing in mind this only refers to those who appeared before the town's borough court during the years the records have survived and who were recorded under the same name as they were in the lists of banishments, the real number of Flemish exiles in 1350s Colchester must have been higher.

[390] For these towns' position in the Flemish urban network, see Peter Stabel, *Dwarfs among Giants: the Flemish Urban Network in the Late Middle Ages* (Louvain, 1997), passim.

Table 2.3: Names of Flemings appearing both in the Colchester borough court rolls between 1351 and 1366 and on the lists of exiles of 1351 and those pardoned in 1359.

Court Rolls	Lists of Exiles and Pardons
Leuin Backener	Lievin Backere, from Ghent
Walter le Baker, 'outre Flemyng'	Wouter le Backere, from Ghent
William de Breggis, 'Flemyng'	Willem de Brugghe, from Ghent
Lievin Cornelis	Lievin Cornelis, from Ghent
Hanyn Derex	Hannin Diederix, from Ghent
John van Neke	Jan van Eke, weaver, from Ghent
Henry Everard	Heinric Everard's wife, from Ghent
Lewyn Hadican	Lievin Haenkin, from Ghent
Lievin Hortowe	Lievin Hertoghe, from Ghent
John Raven	Jan de Raven, from Ghent
Simon Sporeman	Moenin Sporeman,[391] from Ghent
John Synay	Jan van Synay, from Ghent
John fan loo	Jan van Loo, weaver, from Ghent
Boudin Adam	Boudin Adaem, from Bruges
John Ballyng	Jan Balling, fuller, from Bruges
Heyne van Cortrik	Hanin van Courtrike, weaver, from Bruges
Cent Kempe	Cent Kempe, from Bruges
James Pappe	Coppin Pappe, dyer, from Bruges
John Passelyn	Jan Pacelin, weaver, from Bruges

[391] In Middle Dutch, Moenin is a diminutive for Simon. Debrabandere, *Woordenboek van de Familienamen,* II, p. 992.

Simon de Vos	Moenin de Vos, from Bruges
John van Wynd	Jan van Vinct, *poorter*, from Bruges
John Barat, Flemyng	Jan Baraet, from Oudenaarde
John Hodmaker	Jan Hoedmakere, from Oudenaarde
Arnald Roufot	Arnout Roevoet, from Oudenaarde
Lievin van the Hede	Wouter van der Heide, from Saint Bavo Lievin, his son
John van the Hede	Jan, his son
Gerard van the Hede	Gherard, his son
John Cambere	Jan de Cammere, from Diksmuide
Copin Stuk	Copin Stucke, from Diksmuide
William Bollard	Willem Bollaert, from Bailleul
John Clerc, Fleming	Jan de Clerc, from Nieuwpoort

The sentence of 1351 made no distinction between master weavers supporting a household, single journeymen and young apprentices. On the lists, however, forty-four exiles are explicitly said to be the wives, sixty-eight to be the children of other people banished. In St Bavo, eight of the twenty-one leaving were sons of others sent across the Channel, including the van der Heides, who made it to Essex.[392] Many of the Flemings who appeared in the Colchester court rolls, Gilles van Molle, John Pouchemaker and Arnald Wyllemsone to name but three,[393] also did so together with their wives. Knowing that an average Flemish household

[392] De Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, pp. 718, 725.
[393] ERO, D/B 5, CR 12, mm. 7d, 18, CR 15, m. 2, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, pp. 77, 121, 189.

in this period consisted of four to five people,[394] and taking into account that the 126 identified were only those who pleaded in the borough courts, the total number of immigrants from Flanders could have been as high as 300. They might not have matched the Dutch refugees of the 1580s, who were responsible for more than twenty per cent of the inhabitants of the Essex town, but Flemish textile workers and their families might have made up up to ten per cent of the population of 1350s Colchester, which never exceeded 3,000 people.[395]

Manifesting themselves as a closely knit community with strong pre-existing links and, sometimes, enmities, the Flemings opposed each other in court just as much as they did Englishmen during the first years after their arrival, most frequently in disputes concerning assault or trespass. Walter le Baker, 'outre Flemyng', was one of the Ghentenaars pardoned in 1359.[396] He first appeared in 1357, in a case against Simon Sporeman, another banished Fleming from Ghent, who violently attacked his wife Margery with a knife.[397] The incident happened in West Stockwell Street, near the private tenement where, until its transfer to the moot hall in 1373, the informal wool trade took place.[398] In 1360, Walter himself was accused of assaulting Daniel Flemyng. A year later, he was summoned by John Camber, an exile from Diksmuide, who sold clogs and coverlets, for unspecified debts. Le Baker did not accept the allegations and made a counter-charge.[399] As economic activity in the town increased towards

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[394] Prevenier, 'La démographie des villes du comté de Flandres', *Revue du Nord*, 45 (1983) [hereafter Prevenier, 'la démographie'], p. 256; Roger Mols, *Introduction à la Démographie Historique des Villes d'Europe du XIVe au XVIIe Siècle* (3 vols., Louvain, 1954-6), pp. .

[395] Richard H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525* (Cambridge, 1986) [hereafter Britnell, *Growth and Decline*], p. 49; Nigel Goose, 'The Dutch in Colchester in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Opposition and Integration', in: Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (eds.), *From Strangers to Citizens: the Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750* (Brighton, 2001), pp. 88-9.

[396] De Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 714.

[397] ERO, D/B 5, CR 11, m. 1, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, p. 68.

[398] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 72-3.

[399] ERO, D/B 5, CR 13, m. 14, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, pp. 132, 178.

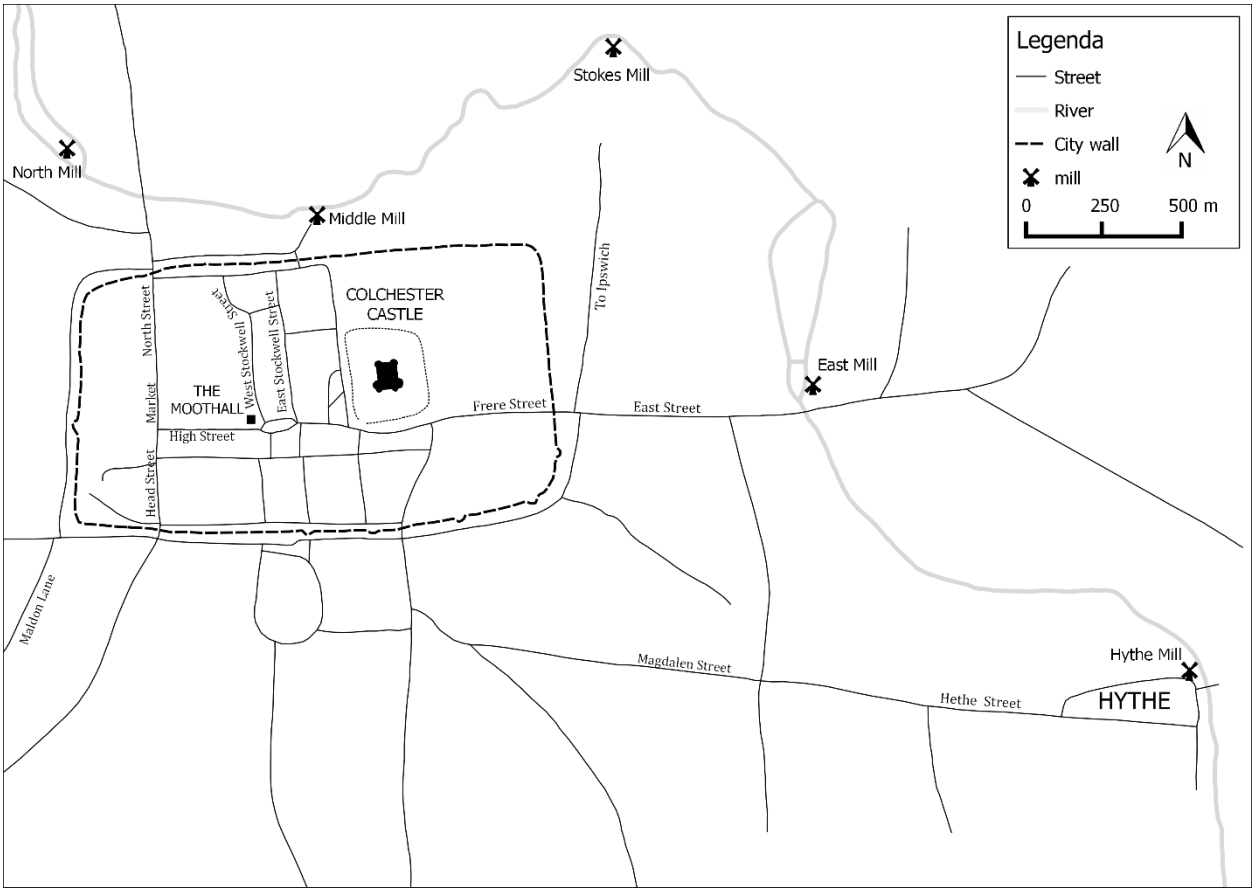
the end of the 1350s, pleas for debt or breach of covenant caught up with those for trespass and assault, and disputes with Englishmen outstripped those between fellow Flemings. Flemish litigants did resort to English pledges and, exceptionally, attorneys more often from the onset. No Fleming is known to have stood surety for an Englishman.

In which part of town the Flemish newcomers settled is more difficult to reconstruct. None of them figures in the leases and deeds of the town.[400] One Fleming, Henry Everard, presented a charter to the bailiffs which stated that a certain William Clerk granted him a tenement in Hethe Street. Leading outside the town walls, this street gave access to Hythe, Colchester's detached port settlement.[401] Most of the Flemish exiles acted no different from the other townsmen and shared premises.[402] In his confrontation with Daniel Flemyng, Walter le Baker was pursued up to his shared house, where he defended himself with a knife.[403] Other Flemings lodged with natives, such as John Quarham, 'Flemish malefactor', living with John Busch, or a Flemish woman, living with Alice Hall.[404] With Busch, too, having business in Hethe Street,[405] the little evidence there is suggests a concentration of Flemish presence near Hythe, also a centre of the textile trade since the 1330s.[406] Hundred years later, in the 1450s, it

[400] ERO, D/B 5 R1, fos. 42-56, edited in W.G. Benham (ed.), *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester* (Colchester, 1907) [hereafter Benham, *Oath Book*], pp. 59-74.
[401] Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, p. 161; Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 23, 36-7; Janet Cooper, 'Medieval Colchester: growth of the town', in: *Victoria County History of the County of Essex* (11 vols., London and Oxford, 1903-2012) [hereafter *VCH Essex*], IX, p. 47.
[402] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 10-11.
[403] ERO, D/B 5, CR 12, m. 18, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, p. 115.
[404] ERO, D/B 5, CR 12, m. 7 d; CR 13, m. 14, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, pp. 76, 136.
[405] Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, pp. 58-9.
[406] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 72-3.

was still the main port of call for immigrants from the Low Countries, now engaged in beer brewing.[407]

Map 2: Colchester 1350



Little is known about the presence of those banished in 1351 in other places. Judging from earlier comments by the Ghent authorities, some might never have left the Low Countries.[408] In York, the leading centre in the North, the number of new freemen enrolling in

[407] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 196-7.

[408] In 1349, Ghent complained that exiles, probably the ones banished straight after the revolt, were allowed to remain in the Four Offices, the castellany north of the city. The duke of Brabant was

the cloth making crafts doubled from forty-nine between 1341 and 1351 to 100 between 1351 and 1361. Twenty of them were Flemings, including Lawrence Conync, an exiled weaver from Deinze, south of Ghent, who acquired the freedom in 1354.[409] Winchester, too, witnessed a dramatic rise in the number of Flemish cloth workers in its borough court records in the years immediately following the banishments.[410] Unfortunately, the generic toponymic and occupational names most litigants were given allow no further identification.

What could have driven Walter le Baker, Henry Everard and at least 124 other immigrants from the Low Countries, most of them leaving a metropolis with a population of about 64,000 people,[411] to Colchester, an English provincial town with less than 3,000 inhabitants? Even though the Crown's invitation to Flemish exiles might have been more considered and effective than previously assumed, there is no evidence to suggest that the government played a role in directing the new arrivals from the Low Countries to specific places as it did in the case of the sixteenth-century protestant refugees.[412] Nothing confirms Fuller's assertion that Edward III 'bestowed them through all the parts of the land, that clothing thereby might be the better dispersed'.[413] Neither do we have indications of attempts to attract the highly skilled visitors on a local level. Its position on the east coast, close to Ipswich, a major sea port with strong trade links with Flanders,[414] had been a reason for both Flemish

requested to remove those who had fled to his territories. Napoleon De Pauw and Julius Vuylsteke (eds.), *De Rekeningen der Stad Gent: Tijdvak van Jacob Van Artevelde 1336-1349* (3 vols., Ghent, 1874-85), III, p. 371.

[409] J.N. Bartlett, 'The expansion and decline of York in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 12 (1959), pp. 22-3; Francis Collins (ed.), *Register of the Freemen of the City of York: Vol. I. 1272-1558*, Surtees Society, 96 (Durham, 1897), p. 48.

[410] Derek Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester* (Oxford, 1985), p. 380.

[411] Prevenier, 'La démographie', p. 255.

[412] Lien Luu, *Immigrants and Industries in London 1500-1700* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 53-87, in particular pp. 70-76.

[413] Fuller, *Church History*, II, pp. 286-7.

[414] Nicholas R. Amor, *Late Medieval Ipswich: Trade and Industry* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 47-8.

merchants and residents to call at Colchester ever since the twelfth century, be it in much smaller numbers than in the 1350s.[415] Eighty years later, most immigrants from the Low Countries were still living in those counties closest by, East Anglia in particular, and, within these regions, in those places with existing connections, mostly port towns.[416]

Map 3: Eastern England and Flanders in the Fourteenth Century

[415] Janet Cooper, 'Medieval Colchester: townspeople', in: *VCH Essex*, IX, p. 61.
[416] Sylvia L. Thrupp, 'A survey of the alien population in England in 1440', *Speculum*, 32 (1957), p. 266; Nelly J.M. Kerling, 'Aliens in the county of Norfolk, 1436-1485', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 33 (1963), p. 209.

With no discernible concentrations of Flemish exiles detected elsewhere in 1350s Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, there must have been more to the story. Colchester during the first half of the fourteenth century met many of the basic requirements for the development of a sustainable export oriented cloth industry. Along the Essex coastline, extensive and thinly populated marshlands combined with terrace sands and gravels were ideal for the production of cheaper wool varieties[417] and fleeces were traded in the town. Cheap water power for mechanical fulling and redundant grain mills suitable for redeployment to fulling mills were available before 1350. There was sufficient demand and an ability to compete internationally for cheaper cloths dyed and manufactured to recognised standards. Colchester had market facilities, was situated at the centre of an intricate road network, including direct connections to London, and, close to the sea, provided easy access to the continent.

Yet, at the dawn of the fourteenth century, the number of textile workers in the town was negligible. With any increase of litigation in its court rolls for debt or breach of covenant completely absent during the period 1310-1345, it then missed the growth of English cloth making during the 1330s and 1340s. While Colchester functioned as an export market for the smaller towns of northern Essex and southern Suffolk, it had no textile industry of its own worthy of the name before the Black Death.[418] For expelled cloth workers, used to a mammoth scale industry which, in Ghent alone, employed over 13,000 people in 1357,[419] this lack of competition must have been most welcome. Unlike London, where native interests were

[417] Poos, *Rural Society*, p. 44.
[418] Britnell, *Growth and decline*, pp. 12, 18-21, 57-63, 67, 76.
[419] David Nicholas, *Metamorphosis of a Medieval City: Ghent in the Age of the Arteveldes, 1302-1390* (Leyden, 1987) [hereafter Nicholas, *Metamorphosis of a Medieval City*], p. 19.

anxiously safeguarded by the weavers' guild,[420] or, in fact, Flanders,[421] 1350s Colchester knew no occupational corporations or economic regulation that could exclude outsiders: characterised by small units of production and independence of action, the town's cloth industry only took its first steps towards a more formal organisation in 1407. With no clearly formulated apprenticeship rules in place, men could switch between occupations and learn new skills from whoever willing to teach them.[422] Textile workers immigrating from Flanders, primarily trained in the production of high quality cloth and manual fulling, can only have appreciated this flexibility.[423]

The time of the Flemings' arrival also coincided with the first outburst of the Black Death. The plague struck particularly hard in Essex, with mortality rates of over 40 per cent, and caused a shortage of workers in Colchester.[424] In this context the Flemish newcomers were more likely to be accepted by town officials and their labour became more expensive. In 1349 the Ordinance of Labourers was issued, followed by the Statute of Labourers in 1351. One of their key aims was to restrict the mobility of workers by maintaining salaries on the same level

[420] Good, 'Alien clothworkers', pp. 7-20.
[421] Peter Stabel, 'Guilds in late medieval Flanders: myths and realities of guild life in an export-oriented environment', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), pp. 187-212.
[422] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 77-8, 139.
[423] Still offering a wide variety of cloth in the thirteenth century, the larger Flemish cities, main suppliers of exiles in 1351, avoided competition from the smaller communities by concentrating on heavy luxury woolens during the fourteenth century. John H. Munro, 'Industrial transformations in the North-West European textile trades, *c*. 1290-*c*. 1340: economic progress or economic crisis?', in: Bruce M.S. Campbell (ed.), *Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 111-4. Fulling mills had been introduced in several towns in Flanders and Brabant during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but were no longer used in the fourteenth on grounds that it produced an inferior textile. Raymond Van Uytven, 'The fulling mill: dynamic of the revolution of industrial attitudes', *Acta Historiae Neerlandica*, 5 (1971), pp. 1-14.
[424] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 22, 72, 96. Janet Cooper, 'Medieval Colchester: introduction', *VCH Essex*, IX [hereafter Cooper, 'Introduction'], p. 24. Poos, *Rural Society*, p. 90.

as before 1348.[425] In 1352, the fines assessed for offences against the Statute in Colchester, involving employees receiving wages over the odds, amounted to no less than £84 7s. 7d., or more than three times the town's lay subsidy payments to the Crown. Still, with about one quarter of the labouring population of the county finding it worthwhile to break the law, the gains to be made must have exceeded the fine.[426] As late as 1389, six weavers from five different Essex communities were indicted for taking excessive sums of money.[427]

The 126 people from the Low Countries who appeared before the borough court between 1351 and 1367 must have included Flemings who had left voluntarily as well. For them, too, Colchester, provided with a cheap and secure supply of wool unhindered by the periodical embargoes and excessive export duties that burdened trade with Flanders,[428] made an attractive destination. While in England, and certainly in Essex, the shortage of workforce due to the Black Death caused a competition between employers and an increase in real wages of both urban and rural workers, in Flanders it did not.[429] In Ghent, the export oriented textile industries set in a period of sharp decline from the 1360s onwards, causing massive unemployment. The artisans who managed to maintain did receive wage raises, but those struggled to keep pace with the severe inflation provoked by the continuous monetary

[425] Chris Given-Wilson, 'The problem of labour in the context of English government, *c.* 1350-1450', in: James Bothwell, P.J.P. Goldberg and W. Mark Ormrod (eds.), *The Problem of Labour in Fourteenth-Century England* (York, 2000) [hereafter Given-Wilson, 'The problem of labour'], pp. 185-90.
[426] Lawrence R. Poos, 'The social context of the Statute of Labourers enforcement', *Law and History Review*, 1 (1983), pp. 43-5, 48; Given-Wilson, 'The problem of labour', p. 186.
[427] Poos, *Rural Society*, pp. 67-8.
[428] For an overview of standoffs in the Anglo-Flemish wool trade during the first half of the fourteenth century, see Terence H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 7-37, 75, 107-8, 112-4.
[429] Caroline M. Barron, 'Introduction', in: Caroline M. Barron and Nigel Saul (eds.), *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1995), p. 11.

debasements by the Flemish count between 1348 and 1360. Not surprisingly, poverty became an increasing concern for contemporaries in Flanders after 1360.[430]

To make things worse, the city's weavers had to deal with the humiliating conditions imposed by the fuller dominated aldermen after the revolt. By the Statute of 29 November 1349 they were forbidden to carry weapons and change occupations. They could no longer assemble in groups of more than three people and whoever saw them gathered had the right to take off and keep their upper clothes. If any of the remaining weavers breached the law, he still risked banishment of three to fifty years. Weavers were ousted from political office again and were made to pay an indemnity until 1375.[431] Adding to the crisis that already reigned over the city's cloth industry, the forced exile of over a thousand highly skilled craftsmen and the voluntary departure of others soon resulted in a sharply felt shortage of expertise.[432] Already on 6 December 1349, the aldermen of Ghent recalled some of the banished weavers. In 1359, Count Louis of Male offered a general pardon to all the 1349 rebels. However, the conditions for pardon were so exorbitant that few of the exiles could have met them. An indemnity of £300 parisis was demanded, or the equivalent of 7,200 day salaries of a master building craftsman in 1360 Ghent.[433]

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[430] Marc Boone, 'L'industrie textile à Gand au Bas Moyen Âge ou les resurrections successives d'une activité réputée moribonde', in: Marc Boone and Walter Prevenier (eds.), *Drapery Production in the Late Medieval Low Countries: Markets and Strategies for Survival, 14th-16th Centuries* (Louvain, 1993), p. 17; Nicholas, *Metamorphosis of a Medieval City*, pp. 120, 176; John H. Munro, 'Bullion flows and monetary contraction in late-medieval England and the Low Countries', in: John F. Richards (ed.), *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds* (Durham, N.C., 1983), p. 113.

[431] Napoleon De Pauw (ed.), *Voorgeboden der stad Gent in de XIVe eeuw (1337-1382)* (Ghent, 1885), pp. 41, 51, 52, 53, 65.

[432] Nicholas, *Metamorphosis of a Medieval City*, p. 155.

[433] The summer wage for a craftsman in the building industries in Ghent in 1360 was 10 d. a day. John H. Munro, 'Urban wage structures in late-medieval England and the Low Countries: work-time and seasonal wage', in: Ian Blanchard (ed.), *Labour and Leisure in Historical Perspective: Thirteenth to Twentieth Centuries* (Stuttgart, 1994), p. 72.

One of those allowed to return to Flanders in 1359, Walter le Baker chose to stay in Colchester, opposing Daniel Flemyng in 1360 and John Camber 1361. He was not alone. The last identified exile to appear in the town's court was John Ballyng, a fuller from Bruges, in 1366. Whereas no Fleming is known to have become a freeman of the town during the 1350s, three seem to have done so during the 1360s,[434] possibly after the conditions set in 1359 had shattered all hopes of an easy return. During the same years, there are reasons to assume that a second generation of those banished in 1351 found its way to Colchester's tribunals. The case opposing Ballyng and his fellow Fleming John Pouchemaker also involved a Michael and a Nicholas Ballyng.[435] In 1367, a Flemish immigrant sued John Lightfoot for debts for the sale of cloth. One of those eligible for pardon in Ghent in 1359 was Luppin Lightfoot.[436] In 1375 and 1377, John Backere, 'Flemyng', and Walter Camber appeared in court, potential relatives of exiles Walter le Backere and John Camber in 1361.[437] From 1359 onwards, the Flemings in Colchester were joined by an increasing number of people whose surname referred to the duchy of Brabant or to one of its towns and cities. They must have left after the Flemish count Louis of Male had invaded his neighbouring principality and imposed an economic stranglehold in 1356.[438] Both Flemings and Brabanters would continue to plead their causes in the Colchester borough courts for the rest of the fourteenth century.

[434] William de Gaunt, John Ducheman and John Danel, referred to in other cases as a Fleming, all in 1366. ERO, D/B 5 R1, fo. 47 d.
[435] ERO, D/B 5, CR 15, m. 2, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, pp. 186-7.
[436] ERO, D/B 5, CR 15, m. 9, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, p. 234. De Pauw, *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 712.
[437] For John Backer, see ERO, D/B 5, CR 17, m. 10 d, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, III, p. 81. For Walter Camber, see ERO, D/B 5, CR 18, m. 19, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, III, p. 144.
[438] Sergio Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 3-10; Fritz Quicke, *Les Pays-Bas à la veille de la Période Bourguignonne, 1356-1384 : Contribution à l'Histoire et Diplomatique de l'Europe Occidentale dans la Seconde Moitié du XIVe siècle* (Brussels, 1947), pp. 41-54.

Apart from the lack of quantifiable data, the most decisive argument to call the impact of Flemish immigration on the development of the English cloth industry into question is its chronology. If textile workers from Flanders did settle in England, they did so at times when the native textile manufacture underwent no significant changes.[439] It has been stated earlier that Colchester had no large scale cloth industry on the eve of the arrivals from the Low Countries. Many indications suggest that the production of the Colchester russet, the town's trademark grey and brown shaded cloth, took off after 1350. The number of textile workers, still very low at the beginning of the fourteenth century, went up. Between 1375, the first year occupations were registered, and 1400, nineteen men engaged in the cloth industry were admitted to the freedom.[440] By 1373 the wool trade had increased such that the council found it worthwhile to provide it with a permanent location in the cellar of the moot hall, which was fitted out at the community's expense. The rent of the cellar rose significantly in subsequent years. More evidence related to the conversion of milling facilities for fulling purposes has survived for the period after 1350 than for any time before. From the third quarter of the fourteenth century onwards, Colchester russets are increasingly attested in foreign markets, Gascony, Prussia and the Mediterranean in particular.[441]

The criticisms of the use of aulnager accounts, recording the payment of the king's subsidy on sold cloth, as a reliable source for the fortunes of the textile industry are well known: they recorded the marketing of fabrics rather than industrial output and they did so imperfectly. Still, the accounts allow us to reconstruct the relative importance of individual markets in specified periods. Whereas 587 cloths were traded a year in all the ports of Norfolk, Suffolk

[439] Goose, 'Immigrants', p. 153; Heaton, *Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries*, p. 16.
[440] Cooper, 'Medieval Colchester: the economy', *VCH Essex*, IX, p. 32.
[441] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 63-7, 72-6.

and Essex, including Colchester, in 1354-8, the town alone was responsible for the sale of more than 849 pieces in seventeen months in 1394-5.[442] The growth of business in the textile trade is equally clear from the borough court records. The number of pleas brought to the tribunals rose from sixty-two in 1351-2 to 127 in 1353-4, twenty-four of which involved people from the Low Countries. By the end of the decade the number of lawsuits reached 286, in 1378-9 it exceeded 500. While the number of pleas for trespass, still responsible for about half of the courts' activities in the mid-1350s, remained on par with the growth of the population, the number of pleas for debt, remarkably stable during the first half of the fourteenth century, and those for breach of contract both increased tenfold by the end of the 1370s. The rising indebtedness resulted from a growth of transactions and a greater willingness to allow credit, inspired by the profitability of the textile trade.[443] By the 1390s, Colchester had become the single most important cloth market in Essex and Suffolk.

It is difficult to assess the impact of changes in the demand for cheaper standard quality cloth, such as the Colchester russet, on the development of the town's textile industry. On the supply side, both the raw materials and the infrastructure were available before 1350. Even though northern Essex underwent a shift toward pastoral production in the 150 years following the Black Death, most of it only happened after 1400, when Colchester's textile production was already firmly established.[444] English wool did become cheaper for native clothmaking centres than for continental producers due to the higher export duties imposed in 1336.

[442] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 79-81. For the shortcomings of the aulnager accounts and the data for the whole county of Essex, see A.R. Bridbury, *Medieval English Clothmaking: an Economic Survey* (London, 1982), pp. 58-9, 114; Poos, *Rural Society*, pp. 69-70.
[443] Britnell, 'Colchester courts', p. 134; Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 98-103.
[444] Poos, *Rural Society*, p. 63. Wool prices still rose during the 1350 and 1360s, the period of initial industrial expansion. Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, p. 150.

Applying the same tariffs on all qualities of wool, the taxes affected the export of the cheaper varieties, the basis of the Colchester russet, more than that of the finer ones. Yet, as Richard Britnell has shown, producers abroad could also find substitutes for lower quality wools more easily and it is doubtful whether the rise in English customs duties has influenced the costs of making cheaper cloth on the continent in the same way as it has done for luxury textiles. A bigger comparative advantage, in a period in which political instability drastically raised transport costs, might have been Colchester's proximity to the sea and to the port of Ipswich, which already attracted most of the town's output for the international market.[445]

What changed most visibly in post-plague Colchester, was the availability of skilled labour. Whereas the Suffolk towns of Clare and Sudbury, thriving textile centres during the first half of the fourteenth century, never recovered from the Black Death, Colchester, equally hard hit in 1348 and during subsequent waves of pestilence, was more populous in 1400 than it had been in 1300. Most of this growth was the result of immigration.[446] This is not to say that all newcomers were exiled Flemish cloth workers. From the 1340s to the 1350s the average annual number of new enrolled burgesses grew from fifteen to twenty-two, most of whom came from the surrounding villages.[447] Only in the 1360s would the first two Flemings acquire the freedom of the town. Still, the court rolls make clear that, between 1351 and 1367, at least 126 people from the Low Countries settled in Colchester. Most of them had proven experience in the industry which, during exactly the same years, expanded spectacularly. Only a few years

[445] Britnell, *Growth and Decline,* pp. 67-8; John H. Munro, 'Monetary contraction and industrial change in the late-medieval Low Countries, 1335-1500', in: N.J. Mayhew (ed.), *Coinage in the Low Countries (880-1500)* (Oxford, 1979), p. 110.
[446] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, pp. 95-7; A. Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns 1400-1640* (Basingstoke, 1991), pp. 23-4, 56.
[447] Cooper, 'Introduction', p. 24.

later, their expertise was dearly missed in one of Western Europe's leading cloth cities, despite its rising unemployment. The Flemings might have brought more to Colchester than only skills. One of the newly arrived exiles, John Van Wynd, belonged to the Bruges *poorters*, a corporation of wealthy citizens working outside the craft guild system and including many merchants. Numerous others appear in the Colchester borough records as sellers of cloth or related goods,[448] suggesting activities as independent clothiers owning the product of their work rather than powerless wage labourers.

3. *Great Yarmouth Exiles*

Based on the East coast in the cloth-making region of Norfolk, Great Yarmouth was as well an attractive place for immigration of Flemish exiles. With its estimated population of around 3500 based on the poll-tax in 1377, collected from 1,900 people over 14 years old, the town was the second largest in the region after Norwich.[449] Town's main industries included fishing and shipping industries, however, cloth, leather and the beer trade flourished as well because of the large presence of transient merchants.[450] Even though this town was basically Norwich's outport, its abundant borough court records reveal some distinctive features of the Flemish immigration which made it important to include it in the present study. The town's location and proximity with the coastal towns of Flanders as well as English inland wool and cloth centres, proved to be a natural place for the banished Flemings after 1351.

Compared to Colchester and London, Great Yarmouth's advantage are the very well preserved local court records as explained in the introduction. Especially for the period after the revolt in

[448] See, for example, ERO, D/B 5, CR 15, mm. 2, 4, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, pp. 187, 193.
[449] Rodziewicz, Great Yarmouth, p. 19-20, Fenwick.
[450] Saul, 'English Towns in the Late Middle Ages: the Case of Great Yarmouth', *JMH*, 1982, p. 75-88.

Flanders and the exile of rebels to England, since they run almost consecutively from 1351 until 1381. However, they can raise few methodological problems. Because of its mercantile activity, in various litigation cases in the town's borough court records, one can find thousands of names originating from the Low Countries. Therefore, the following questions can be raised, who was just a transient merchant and who was a permanent immigrant? Even for the exiles, we know that they were banished and that they could not return to Flanders, but we can wonder how many of them actually settled in Great Yarmouth, or in the surrounding towns in England and just used its port for export and import of goods?

The Dutch speaking newly arrived immigrants after the exile were not something new for the residents of Great Yarmouth. Already before the 1351 and massive arrival of exiles to England, in contrast to Colchester, Great Yarmouth had very strong mercantile links with Bruges, coastal towns of Flanders as well as Holland and Zeeland. In fourteenth century, during the six weeks of the herring fair in February and March, Great Yarmouth would host on average 360 ships a year, their crews would increase population by at least 2000 inhabitants during this period.[451] Most of these ships originated from the fishing towns of the Zwin estuary, Diksmuide, Blankenberghe, Sluys, but also from Holland and Zeeland. Other Flemish transient merchants would be the drapers from Bruges and Ypres who would go to inland towns such as Norwich and Lincoln to acquire wool and woolfells from woolgrowers or brokers and then load it on ships in Yarmouth back to Flanders. Even on the other side of the Channel, it seems that the Great Yarmouth men were regular visitors. For example, Thomas of Beverley, one of the members of the prominent Yarmouth family acquired citizenship in Bruges.[452] Thomas de

[451] Rodziewicz, Great Yarmouth, p. 18-19 and the references she gives.
[452] Jamees, p. 55.

Drayton from Great Yarmouth was a business partner of the Bruges money changer Pieter Daudenarde.[453] These links with Bruges prior to the exile in 1351, and later, justify the highest presence of banished Flemings from that town in Norfolk.

As explained earlier, the Great Yarmouth borough court records consist of petty pleas, great pleas, leet court, recognizances, and the particulars of the customs accounts. We can determine indirectly from all of them if the immigrants settled permanently, but the best part of the court rolls for this would be the parts of the leet court. These unfortunately survive only from 1367, so we do not have such information for the first fifteen years of the present study. However, they run then consecutively until 1381. The leet rolls contain the fines for various cases brought to the court after the police work such as trading as a citizen while not being one, throwing garbage improperly, forestalling and regrating, hosting prostitutes, night wandering, exercising two occupations and unacceptable violent behaviour. These fines would be imposed on the inhabitants by the bailiffs and capital pledges who would first summon all the people who live at any given leet (check if everybody was in the tithing) and hear out the criminal presentments that happened in the course of the year. Some Flemings, such as weavers from Bruges Lippin Sceepstale, William Cappelle, or John Witbrood, fuller and Paul Souter, tawyer would repeatedly be fined for various offences over the 14-year period that the leet rolls survive. Also, leet rolls were held in June, which was after February the quietest month for trade.[454] Therefore most of the Flemings appearing in them would quite unlikely be the transient merchants.

[453] Murray, *Bruges: Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 271n.
[454] Rodziewicz, Great Yarmouth, p. 141-42 ; Herring season would still not have started and the fairs would be over, therefore the presence of transient merchants and fishermen would be at the lowest level in June.

When it comes to the petty and great pleas, the information that is sometimes given in the pleadings lead us to conclude that the exiles settled permanently in Great Yarmouth. In 1355, Gertruda fan Outraght accused an exile from the liberty of Bruges, Mace fan Rotterdam of detention of chattels. In the pleadings, it is stated that one Robert Houdestok left 6 barrels of beer in the house of Mace van Rotterdam for the aforementioned Gertruda, which Mace had not transferred to her.[455] From this case we get the information that an exile Mace van Rotterdam owned a house, which is a direct evidence of a longer term settlement abroad. Another point are the cases for withdrawal from service. This type of litigation would also fall under the jurisdiction of the borough court and there were 10 cases that involved Flemings entered into petty pleas over the 1351-1381 period. For instance, an exile from Bruges Christian fan the Scelle, weaver sued John van Gaunt for withdrawal from service.[456] If some of the exiles were transient merchants, they would be quite unlikely to have settled disputes for withdrawal from service in Great Yarmouth borough court rather than in their home town. In Bruges such disputes as withdrawal from service would have been settled within the guild.[457] The presence of Flemish wives and of Flemish brothel keepers, as we will see later, also suggests that most of the immigrants settled permanently in Great Yarmouth and reflects their importance in that town. Nevertheless, some of the Flemings that appear in the sources of Great Yarmouth did settle in other places in Norfolk. For example Copin Ysaak, an exile from Dixmuide appears on several occasions as wool exporter in the customs accounts of Great Yarmouth.[458] However, he was actually a resident of King's Lynn as he took up the citizenship

[455] NRO Y /C 4/76 m. 4v.
[456] NRO Y /C 4/91 m. 5r.
[457] These disputes would be settled by the Deans of guilds and preserved in the judgements of the guild Deans Wijsdomen van dekenen which survive only for Ghent in the fourteenth century, SAG serie 156. These were transcribed by Marc Boone.
[458] NRO Y /C 4/74 m. 17r; Smit, *Bronnen*, p. 283 doc. n° 518.

of that town in 1351.[459] Michael Baleward and Colin Edelman, exiled weaver and fuller from Bruges, paid tolls for import of herring, madder and skins from the port of Great Yarmouth to Norwich in 1353 suggesting that some of the exiles took residence over there.[460]

Therefore, how many immigrants from the Low Countries did settle in Great Yarmouth? The number of those for whom we can determine that they settled permanently is 192. To make this number and analysis more pertinent, on top of the methodological problems suggested above, I have included only men and women who had appeared in Great Yarmouth court at least twice in the course of 1351-1381 period. In this sense, the permanent settlement of Flemish immigrants is so obvious that some of them repeatedly kept appearing for various reasons in the borough court, be it as a pledge, defendant, plaintiff or to pay a fine. For example Lippin Sceepstale, weaver from Bruges appeared for the incredible 100 times, John Witbrood, fuller 46 times and William Cappelle, weaver 26 times. Nevertheless, out of these 192 immigrants, 158 are men and 34 are women. Most of the immigrants were employed in the textile sector and there were 62 weavers, 20 fullers, 17 tailors while for 29 the occupation is unknown. (table) However, given the population structure in Flanders at the same period, those immigrants whose occupation is unknown had probably been involved in the textile sector. For an exile from Nieuwpoort, John Dickbuch, the occupation was never mentioned in the list of exiles nor in the Great Yarmouth court, however, he appears as the wool exporter in 1353 and in a debt case against an exiled fuller from Bruges, Bernard Gallin, suggesting that John Dickbuch was involved one way or another in the textile industry.[461] Also, the occupational

[459] *A Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn, 1292-1836, Compiled from the Records of the Corporation of the Borough by Permission of the Town Clerk* (Norwich, 1913), p. 12.
[460] NRO Y /C 4/ 74 m. 19r.
[461] NRO Y /C 4/ 74 m. 18r; NRO Y /C 4/ 79 m. 23r.

names given to the exiles such as Jacob Webster, de *Rotherdam extra maris*, and Everard Tailor, Flemyng, who appear in the coroner's rolls as a victim and a witness[462], suggest strongly both the origin and occupation of these people.[463] The same Everard Tailor, Fleming was involved in two cases in the borough court of Great Yarmouth around the same period, he sued for detinue Edmund and Katerina Paston for whom he produced a chalon. Also, in a trespass case where he is involved with his wife against John Peytevin, he was distrained by a tunic, confirming that he was indeed a tailor.[464]

Figure 2.1: Occupations of male immigrants from the Low Countries in Great Yarmouth

Weavers	Fullers	Tailors	Shearers	Cordwainers	Dyers	Porters	Merchant	Unknown
62	20	17	4	16	1	4	4	29

Cordwainers and craftsmen from the leather trade were particularly numerous amongst the immigrants from the Low Countries and accounted for 16 people. In 1340 in the military musters, after weavers and fullers of Bruges, cordwainers provided the highest number of its members for the expeditions.[465] Also after 1361, one can notice the increased presence of cordwainers amongst the exiles.[466] Gervase Rosser and Derek Keene argued for medieval Westminster and Winchester that the Dutch speaking community that settled in these places had a string influence in this trade, however, there is still no detailed study on cordwainers in medieval England nor the Low Countries.[467]

[462] TNA JUST/2/102 mm. 2, 3.
[463] Same paterns were suggested for women in medieval Exeter and Colchester by Kowaleski, *Local Markets, Exeter*, p. 153; Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, p. 75 n2.
[464] NRO Y /C 4/ 79 m. 22r ; NRO Y/C 4/80 m. 12v.
[465] Verbruggen, *Het Gemeenteleger*, p. 172-177.
[466] Groenenboek C, fol. 113-117.
[467] Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 178; Keene, *Medieval Winchester*, p. 289.

Out of these 192 Flemings, there are at least 55 of them that the names match the lists of banished people from Flanders. Most of them came from the coastal towns located at the Western part of the county. The most numerous were those from Bruges, followed by the exiles from Dixmuide, Nieuwpoort, and Ypres (table). What is striking and very different from London and Colchester is that no exile from Ghent took longer term residence in Great Yarmouth. Given their specialization in rayed cloths[468], which were never associated with Norfolk area, Ghent weavers probably saw no reason to migrate to Great Yarmouth. On the other hand, those from Bruges were associated with similar types of cloth that was produced in Norfolk, before the exile to England.

Table 2.4: Names of Flemings appearing both in the Great Yarmouth borough court rolls between 1351 and 1381 and on the lists of exiles of 1351 and those pardoned in 1359.

Court Rolls (including customs accounts)	List of exiles and pardons
Nicholas Bastard	Claykin Bastard, from Nieuwpoort
John Barekyn	Jan Barekin, from Diksmuide
William Cappel	William van der Cappelle, weaver from Bruges
John Casseler, weaver	Jan van Catselare, weaver from Bruges
Walter Colsad	Wouter Collessad, fuller from Bruges
John Crooc	Jan de Crooc, from Ypres
Egidius Flec	Gillis Vlec, from Veurne
Arnold van der Doorne	Arnout van der Doorne, from Ghent
John Cuper from Flanders	Jan de Cupre, weaver from Diksmuide

[468] See chapter 5.

John Layfot	Jan Lichtvoet, from Veurne
Copyn Frothe	Coppin de Vroede, from Ypres
John Riqward	Jan Riquaert, from Veurne
Mace de Rotherdam	Maes van Rotterdamme, from the Liberty of Bruges
Bernard Gallin	Bernaerd Gallin, fuller from Bruges
Peter of ye Skelle	Peter van der Scelle, weaver from Bruges
Peter Stullard	Peter Stullaert, shearer from Bruges
Clays de Walker	Clays de Waukere, weaver from Bruges
Lamsin Weyns	Lamsin Feyns, fuller from Bruges
Simon de Wyde, fuller	Simoen de Wijde, fuller from Bruges
John Cappel de Flandre	Jan van der Cappelle, weaver from Bruges
Lippin Sceepstale, Webister	Lippin Sceepstale, weaver from Bruges
John Losekyn	Jan Losekin, weaver from Bruges
John Man, de Flandre	Jan de Man, fuller from Bruges
Copkyn Keyser	Jacop Keyser, from Nieuwpoort
Nicholas Slepestaf	Clays Slepstaf, from Bruges
John Cranehaus	Jan Cranhals, from Oudenaarde
John fan Ypre	Jan van Ypre, weaver from Bruges
John Sarazyn	Jan Sarazen, weaver from Bruges
Nicholas Makeler	Clais Machelere, weaver from Bruges
Christian van the Scelle	Christian van der Scelle, weaver from Bruges
Jacob de Ipre	Jacob van Ypre, weaver from Bruges
William Brokere	Jan de Broukere, filius Willems, from Ardembourgh

Baldwin Broukere	Boudin Broukere, from Ardembourgh
Walter Bastard	Wouterkin de Bastard, from Nieuwpoort
John Timerman	Hannekin de Temmerman, from Oudenaarde
Lambert Veys	Lamsin Veys, shearer from Bruges
Walter Ingilbrigth	Wouter Ingelbrechts, from Dendermonde
John Gys, weaver	Jan Ghijs, weaver from Bruges
John de Gistele	Jehan Ghistele, tisserans Bruges 1361
Baldwyn Wymes	Boudin Wemins, fuller from Bruges
Lambert Yonge, fuller	Lamsin Jonghe, fuller from Bruges
Baldwin Feldacker, fuller	Boudin Veldacker, fuller from Bruges
Nicholas Edelman, fuller	Collin Edelman, fuller from Bruges
Peter Thoroud	Pieter van Thouroud, wever from Bruges
John Boidin	Hannekin Boidin, from Nieuwpoort
John Gerolf, fuller	Jan Gherolf, fuller from Bruges
Peter Arnold	Peter Arnout, from Bruges
Nicholas Houweghe	Clais Houweghe, carpenter from Bruges
John Colkirke	Jan de Colkirke, saddler from Bruges
Nicholas Palding	Clais Paelding, fuller from Bruges
Giles Hortere	Gillis Hoertere, from Biervliet
Peter Welmakere	Peter de Vielmakere, from Ghent
Peter Sand	Peter Zande, weaver from Ghent
John Meleward, weaver	Jan Melgeward, weaver from Bruges
Peter Sceepstale	Peter Sceepstale, weaver from Bruges

John fan Fourne	Jan van Vurne, fuller from Bruges Groenenboek 1361
Clays Boulyn	Clais Boelin, from Ardenbourg
Hanekyn Franke	Hannekin Vranke, weaver from Bruges
John Wevere	Hannekin de Wevere, from Oudenaarde

We know that fourteen of the Flemish immigrants apparently came with their wives. The evidence suggests that they either supplemented the household by trading in victuals, producing and selling ale and beer, or by working in the first stages of cloth production or were involved in various brawls and physical aggression. For example, an exile from Bruges Baldwin Wymes and his wife Katerina sued one Beatrix fan Oudewater for detention of chattels, which concerned the sale of a tunic.[469] The case was probably only between Katerina and Beatrix, it was just that Baldwin probably acted as legal guarantee, while Beatrix acted as *femme sole*, which was a very common practice in late medieval England even for married women.[470] Some of women also seem to have migrated alone and found jobs as servants in a wide range of activities and even fell under prostitution as we will see later. Other family members or relatives might have followed, for example, weavers from Bruges, Peter and Christian van der Scelle appear on numerous occasions in Great Yarmouth court rolls and as they bear the same surname, as they appear one next to each other on the military musters, the list of banished rebels and on the list of pardons, they have probably been related.

None of the Flemings are known to have been able to become freemen. Actually, some of them might have become, but there is no direct evidence to support this argument. The analysis of

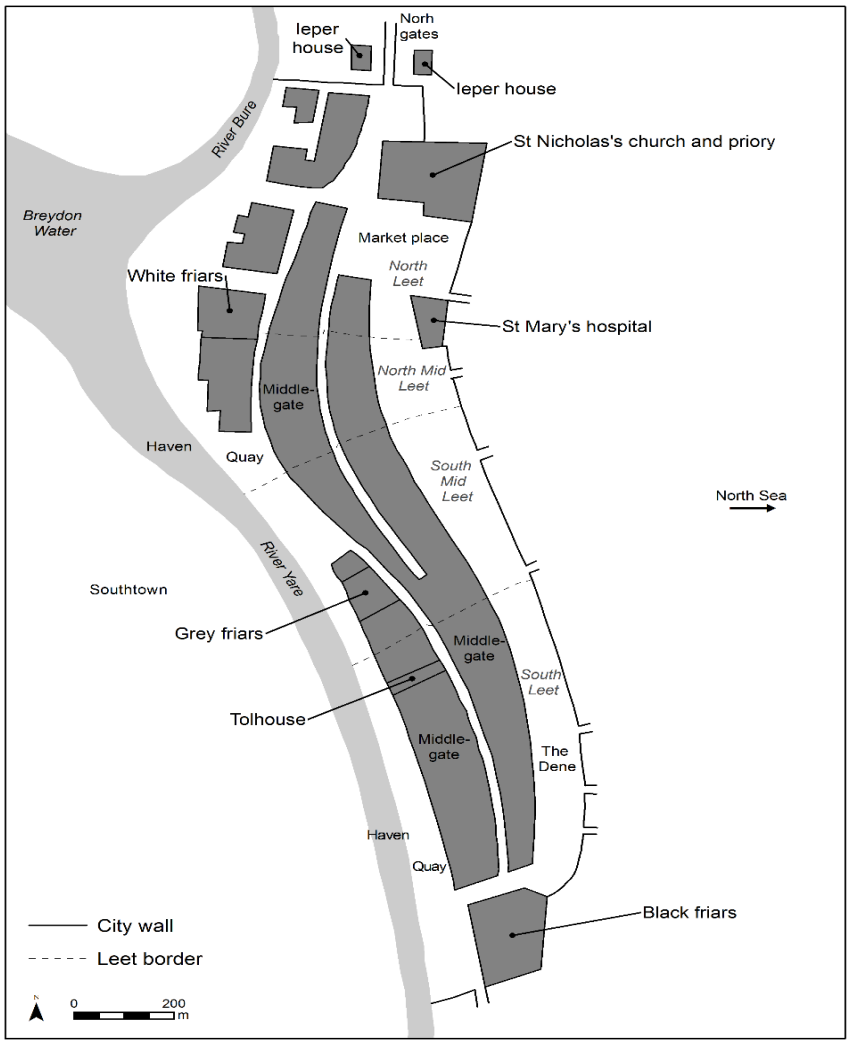
[469] NRO Y /C 4/ 82 m. 1v.
[470] McIntosh, 'The Benefits and Drawbacks of 'Femme Sole' Status in England 1300-1630', *Journal of British Studies,* Vol. 44, 2005, pp. 410-438.

the 13 years of the leet rolls points out that it was probably very difficult to acquire freedom in Great Yarmouth.[471] Some of the immigrants from the Low Countries would repeatedly pay fines to the city authorities for trading as citizens while they were not, which automatically leads us to assume that it was difficult to acquire freedom. As we will see later, most of the immigrants from the Low Countries were involved in the textile industry and as Swanson suggested, it was not always worthwhile for all the weavers to enter the franchise.[472]

The places where Flemings settled in Great Yarmouth are a little bit more difficult to determine than in London or Colchester. Even though, the petty pleas and the leet rolls mention their houses, the street name is never clearly mentioned in the records. John Whitbrood was for example fined for throwing garbage in front of his house in Otlysrowe and blocking the course of water.[473] He was a fuller, therefore it is not surprising that he settled somewhere near the water, however, the street under this name is very hard to find. Moreover, immigrants from the Low Countries were fined in all four leets, which does not narrow down the places in the town. Whether it was for trading under the guise of being a citizen, forestalling, or physical aggression, they appear on any administrative section. Only for throwing garbage, some of them were accused for throwing garbage in the port, usually fullers and those from leather trades.[474] However, this does not necessarily mean that they settled near the port. (Map 4)

[471] For more on difficulties on entering the freedom in Great Yarmouth check chapter 6.
[472] Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 36 (check also Dunn, Population Norwich, p. 158)
[473] NRO Y /C 4/ 85 m. 1r.
[474] Paul Souter, Walter Pouchmaker, Peter fan Reylond, and others were fined on numerous occasions for throwing garbage in the port during 1367-81 (check leet rolls for these years).

Map 4: Great Yarmouth 1300s



The cases from 1361-62 might even indicate the impact of the second arrival of the Black Death. Bernard Gallyn, an exiled fuller from Bruges, sued John, the son and executor of the goods of an exile John Dickbush for unspecified debts.[475] He was a pledge in a case where Catherine a widow of an exile from Dixmuide John Banekyn was accused of debt towards John Countyng from Brabant.[476] And finally, Leticia, a widow of one of the leading Yarmouth men

[475] NRO Y /C 4/ 79 m. 23r.
[476] Ibid.

John Corpisti, a hosteler, sued a weaver from Bruges John Cappel de Flandre for an unspecified debt.[477]

Some of the exiles might have not survived the second pestilence, however, the Great Yarmouth court records inform us that those who settled during the 1350s were reinforced by the newly arrived exiles from Bruges and Diksmuide. As mentioned earlier, more than 1500 banished Flemings were offered pardon to return to Flanders in 1359 under certain conditions, and some of them seem to have done so. However, there seems to have been another revolt in Flanders during 1360-61. This revolt is unfortunately not that well documented, the only evidence we have are the lists of banished people for their involvement, and some passages from the city accounts and from chronicles.[478] Some of the exiles as John van Cappelle, weaver, was banished in 1351 from Bruges, spent some time in Great Yarmouth, then returned after 1359, and was again banished in 1361 to return again to Great Yarmouth.[479] Some others, such as Clais Makeler, a dealer in wool, were banished for the first time in 1361.[480] The latter settled in Great Yarmouth shortly after the exile and operated his business for at least another 20 years.[481]

[477] Ibid. m. 23d, On the same membrane John Fastre an executor of the will of Galfride Webster sued Lippin Webster (Sceepstale) and John Losekin for a debt.
[478] Mertens, 'De woellingen te Brugge tussen 1359-1361', in: *Album Carlos Wyffels*, 1987, pp. 325-330.
[479] NRO Y /C 4/ 79 m. 23r; Groenenboek C, fol. 117v and *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 719.
[480] Groenenboek C fol. 120r.
[481] NRO Y /C 4/ 89 m. 4r; NRO Y /C 4/ 91 m. 1r.

4. *Flemings that do not appear on the lists but can be traced from the context*

Apart from the lists of banished people, some other Flemish sources of the same period can be used in order to compare the names with those in England. In Ghent and Bruges, most of the documents that I will use here are actually linked with the context of revolts and banishments 1345-1361. The whole episode of the Good Tuesday, though complicated, remains rather well documented. As mentioned earlier, Bruges and Ypres surrendered already in 1347, while Ghent rebellion, led by the weavers, persevered until late December 1348, when the count arrived in front the city with his army. In order to insure the surrender of Ghent, Louis of Male demanded 150 hostages. They were supposed be brought to prison to the town of Oudenarde while waiting to be sent into exile.[482] Some of them escaped even before they had been taken as hostages.[483] On top of the official document, the chronicler relates that they saw no need to go there, as they were sure that they will be executed.[484] The count ordered that those who escaped should be replaced by other rebels.[485] Most of the 150 hostages were the weavers' guild elite and such prominent Gentenaar as William van Artevelde, Giles Ripegarst, or John Bastard figured on this list.[486] If we compare their names with the list of people who were offered pardon in 1359, 100 of them are a perfect match. Therefore, we can assume that most of them who were taken hostage in 1348, if not all, were banished in 1351 or later. For example, Lievin Goethals, Arnold Scapkynkel or John Kempe were taken hostages, they appear on numerous occasions as weavers in London during the 1350s and 1360s and also are on the list

[482] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 134.
[483] Ibid., p. 137.
[484] J. J. De Smet, *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre*, (Brussels 1837-1865), t. II, p. 287.
[485] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 134
[486] All three of them settled in London after 1351.

of pardons in 1359.[487] On the other hand, Lievin Vischer, Heine Halling were not offered pardon in 1359, but they do figure in the particulars of customs accounts in London in 1365-66 exporting 19 sacks of wool and also on the list of hostages in 1348.[488] One can argue that they only came to London as transient merchants, however some evidence suggests that the Flemish weavers on the customs accounts are more likely to have settled in London. In case of Lievin Vischer, he only appears as hostage in 1348 and in the customs accounts in London in 1365, but what leads us to assume that he settled in London is the fact that only his wife Merrin is offered pardon in 1359.[489] Also, if we compare the names of people in the particulars of London customs accounts and other sources, we can notice that they consist largely of people who permanently settled in London.[490] Moreover, at this time, wool was automatically going to the staple in Calais and the evidence shows that wool was transported from Calais to Bruges by the Italians, and Ghent sent people directly to buy wool at Calais.[491] Furthermore, the city accounts of Ghent and Bruges regularly held register of income the so called 'issue tax' which was paid by burghers for the inheritance after death of the family member, or by those who wanted to leave the city on the longer term basis. Some of the weavers from Ghent in the London wool customs accounts, such as John Jaghere, or John van Eke had actually paid the issue tax in 1362 and 1364, which is another proof that the Flemish weavers who appear in

[487] *Letter Books G*, p. 189, 250, *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 70, 116 Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 304-306; Consitt, *Weavers London*, p. 188.
[488] TNA E 122/70/18 m. 1, m. 9; For the involvement of exiles in wool exports check chapter 5.
[489] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 715.
[490] For wool exports, see chapter 5. For example, a bailiff of weavers of Brabant, William van Carlewick exported 1000 woolfells on this account, or an English weaver Simon atte Gate 60 sacks of wool.
[491] Nicholas, *Metamorphosis*, p. 139 foot notes 9 and 10. Murray, *Bruges Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 237-39.

London customs accounts are more likely to have migrated to London than just arrived as transient merchants.[492]

In January 1349, some of the hostages were hit by a heavy city tax called 'tax levied from the hostages'.[493] Among them figured William van Artevelde as well as William Lanote, who brokered the approval of the ordinances of Flemish weavers in London 1366 and became a bailiff of their guild in 1376.[494]

Another measure imposed on the main culprits of the revolt was a 'loan' to the city of Ghent in 1349.[495] It is clear that this loan was an involuntary one. Moreover, the loan was not uniform and every rebel paid different price which ranged from 1 scilde, paid by John Oudenard, up to 80 lb groot imposed to John van Artevelde's wife. There are 278 people on this list and most of them were either amongst hostages, or in the list of recalled exiles in 1359. Such was the case of the weavers John Pape and John Maas, they both appear in this list from the city accounts[496], they resided in London during the 1350s and 1360s[497] and they were as well on the list of pardons in 1359.[498] On the other hand, Lievin van Ordyngham appears only in this list and twice in the English sources.[499] He paid the tallage for the export of wool in 1360 and also sold 74 ells of cloth of Paris and 3 ells of cloth of Hainault to the Great Wardrobe in London.[500] The only time he is mentioned in Ghent sources after the revolt of 1345-49 was in

[492] *Stads en Baljuwsrekeningen van Gent 1351-1364*, eds. A. van Werveke and H. van Werveke,, pp. 502.
[493] *De rekeningen der stad Gent*, p. 349, 'dit es ontfaen van den giselen'.
[494] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 331-333; *Letter Books H*, p. 50.
[495] *De rekeningen der stad Gent*, pp. 335-344.
[496] Ibid., p. 341, 344.
[497] *Memoranda Rolls I*, p. 249; *Memoranda Rolls II*, pp. 65-66.
[498] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 712.
[499] *De rekeningen der stad Gent*, p. 342.
[500] TNA, E 122/70/14 and E 101/394/12.

1357 and it is specifically mentioned that he resides in England.[501] Furthermore, the important fact is that the weavers mentioned in the table 1 found in London sources, do not appear in the Ghent sources during the 1350s and 1360.[502]

At the same time, 290 weavers took an oath never to take weapons against the count and the city authorities, a legal measure reflecting the same communal and corporatist logic as a collective banishment. If we compare their names with the 278 rebels that paid the forced loan to the city, almost all of them are a match. For the lists of oaths, it is not clear when exactly was it made. On the original document there is no date, it is only on the dorse of the document that someone added with a contemporary hand '1349' and also '1362'.[503] Indeed, both dates are quite likely to be correct and they both fit the purpose of the present study. For his prosopographic study of the Ghent weavers in the fourteenth century Wout Saelens went with the assumption that these weavers took an oath after the return of exiles in 1359 and new disturbances in Ghent in the beginning of 1360s.[504] Given the similarity with the list of 'loans' from the city accounts and that some of these people appear in England both during the 1350s and the 1360s, it is perfectly possible that they took an oath in 1349 and then left to London either because of banishment, or for economic reasons. For example, a weaver, Lievin van Cockelar took an oath never to rebel against the count but during the beginning of 1370s he

[501] SAG 301/1 fol. 187.
[502] SAG 301 and 330; In order to reinforce my argument, I went through the annual registers of the aldermen and the Ghent city accounts for the 20-year period, and those that appear in London are missing from these sources in Ghent. Apart the case of Lievin van Ordyngham, only in one other case the exiles from London are mentioned. It was the case of John van Wettre in 1361, but as in the case of Lievin van Ordyngham, it is specifically mentioned that he is in London. SAG 301/1 fol. 64 r: For the context of the case check this chapter and the part on exiles in London.
[503] RAG, Oorkonden van Vlaanderen, chronologisch supplement, n° 643; Espinas Pirenne, *Recueil*, p. 505-510.
[504] Wout Saelens, 'TQuadie van Gent', unpublished master thesis Ghent University, 2015: check especially his database for the weavers who figure on the list of hostages and on the list of oaths, appendix.

aulnaged vast amounts of rayed cloth in London.[505] Same can be said for John van Everyngham, who was even a bailiff of Flemish weavers in London.[506] However, the Groenenboek in Bruges as discussed earlier shows that a lot of people were banished during 1361 and later, which implies that some of the urban disturbances happened, thus the dating of this document might be 1362 or even later.

Table 2.5: Flemings (only weavers) traced from the context of the rebellion and exiles

London Sources	**Bruges and Ghent sources**
John Jaghere (paid issue tax)	Jan de Jaghere, from Ghent
William Jaghere	Willem de Jaghere, from Ghent
John Meinfrot	Jan Meinfrot, from Ghent
Lewyn Cokelar	Lievin, Kokelere, from Ghent
John Marlebeke (paid the issue tax)	Jan van Marlebeke, from Ghent
Giles van Brele	Gillis van Briele, from Ghent
William Lanote	Willem Lenoetz, from Ghent
John Yonkere	Jan die Jonghere, from Ghent
John van Everyngham	Jan van Evergheem, from Ghent
Lewyn Singheem	Lievin van Sigheem, from Ghent
Giles van Eke	Gillis van Eke, from Ghent
Levyn van Ordingham	Lievin van Oerdegheem, from Ghent
Clais Scotelare, Bruges	Clais Scotelare, from Bruges
Peter Bassevelde	Pieter van Bassevelde, from Bruges

[505] TNA E 101/340/22 m. 3, E 101/340/23 m. 5; Espinas, Pirenne, *Recueil*, p. 507.
[506] EP, Recueil, p. 507; Letter Books G, p. 250; TNA E 101/340/23 m. 5d.

Giles Robyn	Gillis Ruebin, from Bruges
Giles Motard	Gillis Muetard, from Bruges
John van Lethe	Jan van Lede, from Bruges
Peter Walraven	Pieter Walraven, from Ghent
Matthew Stulpard	Mathijs Stulpaert, from Ghent
Peter Wattre	Pieter Watere, from Ghent
John Oudenard	Jan Oudenard, from ghent
William Wettre	Willem van Wettre, from Ghent
John Rasyngham (Aulnage and 1362)	Jan de Raseghem, from Ghent
John Canyngham (Aulnage and 1362)	Jan van Caeneghem, from Ghent
Peter Boye (Aulnage and 1362)	Pieter Boye, from Ghent
Henry Halling	Heine Hallinc, from Ghent
John Ryk (Groenenboek 1361)	Jan Rijx, from Bruges
John Brest (weversgeld)	Jan Brest, from Ghent
William Dotter	Willem Dotter, from Ghent
Giles van Molle (Colchester)	Gillis van Molle, from Ghent
William Paw (Colchester)	William de Paeu, from Ghent

Straight away after the victory and the constitution of the new city government, a direct tax on the weavers called *weversgeld* was reintroduced. 12 mites, or half a penny on the groot, was levied weekly from the weavers. This tax was levied until 1359 and the return of the weavers into the city government. On top of this tax, a *weversleercnapgeld* was added. Indeed, a master weaver was supposed to pay yearly 12 lb Parisis for every apprentice. The city accounts of Ghent give details of this tax for 1351-54 and for 1357. We can see the names of all the masters

and apprentices as well as the parishes where the tax was paid. The continuity from 1351 until 1354 allows us to compare the names with the list of oaths, the list of pardons in 1359 and with the names of Flemings traced in the Engllish sources and thus establish who was banished and establish their status before the banishment.

Most of these weavers who do not figure on the lists of exiles, but do appear in London, must have left Ghent because of the new conditions imposed to the weavers after the Good Tuesday. Apart from the aforementioned *weversgeld*, the city authorities imposed a variety of humiliating conditions on the weavers in order to prevent new rebellion, but also to show their power after the victory. First, the weavers were forbidden to carry weapons, and this ordinance was repeated on several occasions.[507] Assemblies of more than three weavers were strictly forbidden. If one spotted them in group of more than three, one had the right to take their upper clothes and to keep them for oneself.[508] A tax on the weavers' apprentices called *weversgeld* was reintroduced. They were forbidden to change occupations under pain of 50 year exile.[509] Probably so many weavers had already left, and given the importance of the trade for the city's, the government wanted to keep those remaining occupied by threatening regulations. By the next measure the government even tried to recall the weavers to return to the city.

Moreover, Ghent was struck by the plague in 1360, changing conditions in the cloth industry and a deep decline especially after 1360[510], which is evidenced by the decline in population in 1385[511], all contributed on top of the banishments for textile workers to move to England. Everything indicates that these weavers from Ghent are quite likely to have left for both

[507] De Pauw N., *Voorgeboden der stad Gent*, p. 41, 51, 52, 53, 65.
[508] Ibid., p. 53
[509] Ibid., 42, 45, 53.
[510] Nicholas, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 24-40
[511] Ibid., pp. 135-77.

political and economic reasons and permanently settled in London without having in mind any possible return. As we will see later, even the remaining wills of the immigrants from the Low Countries in London show that they wanted to be buried in London and only made bequests to London parishes, which testifies that no return was worth considering. Moreover, the demand for the types of cloth they produced was still high in the English capital, not to mention the franchises and protection from Edward III they enjoyed which gave them a lot better conditions to exercise their trade than in Ghent during the 1350-1370 period.

Another valuable document from the period just before the exile are the military musters for the city of Bruges for the campaigns 1338-40.[512] Almost all studies on estimates of total population in Bruges in the fourteenth century are based on this document.[513] This register contains the lists of men and money collected by administrative district for one of the ten military campaigns launched during that two-year period. Listed are the amounts of money each district gave, the names of leaders of the poorters or the guild supplying the men, as well as the names of the militiamen themselves.[514] The total number of men appearing in this register amounts to 7,234 and the most numerous are the weavers and the fullers. Most of the militiamen provided by the fullers' or the weavers' guild match almost perfectly those who were banished in 1351. Thus a fuller Baldwin Veldacker, who settled in Great Yarmouth appeared in the muster, but was also banished in 1351.[515] Also, give example from London…

[512] Verbruggen, *Het gemeenteleger van Brugge van 1338 tot 1340 en de namen van de weerbare mannen*, (Brussels, 1962), p. 81-241.
[513] Prevenier, 'Bevolkingcijfers en professionele strukturen der bevolking van Gent en Brugge in de 14e eeuw', *Album: Charles Verlinden*, 1975, p. 269-303; Dumolyn, 'Population et structure profesionnelles à Bruges aux XIVe et XVe siècle', *Revue du Nord*, vol. 81, 1999, p. 43-64; Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 85-87.
[514] Murray, *Bruges Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 85.
[515] NRO Y /C 4/74 m. 18r; Verbruggen, *Het gemeenteleger van Brugge*, p. 133. SAB, Politieke Charters 1ste reeks n. 497; *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 732.

As can be seen, those who were engaged as militiamen in the musters, were also engaged in a rebellion and banished to England few years later. As the period and occupations correspond, some other militiamen had certainly followed and went to England without necessarily having been listed as banished. Indeed, we have seen that there are a lot more Flemings who are mentioned in English sources during the 1350s, even though many of them could also have been refugees or simply economic migrants. Even if their names cannot be found in the list of banished people from 1351, they do appear in the lists of military musters for the urban militia from 1340 and must also have been banished at some point. In several cases their occupations correspond to the ones also mentioned in English sources. Such was the case for Giles Motard, John van Lethe and Giles Robyn. These three appear in London sources during the 1350s as weavers alongside other banished Flemings. They do not figure on the list of banished people from Bruges in 1351, but were clearly the same weavers mentioned in the Bruges muster list from a decade earlier.[516]

The fact that we can trace other men and women from the context show that there were not probably only political reasons for the Flemings to migrate to England. As we have seen earlier, on few episodes, rebels were banished even during 1361, 1365 and 1366, however, these lists survive only for the city of Bruges. The list of weavers who have taken oath in Ghent in 1362 (or 1349) might be linked with these events, since some of these weavers even became the bailiffs of the Flemish weavers in London and figure prominently in the aulnage accounts. Nevertheless, most of those who do not figure on the lists, were probably just the partisans that

[516] *Memoranda Rolls Vol. I*, p. 249; J. F. Verbruggen, *Het gemeenteleger van Brugge van 1338 tot 1340 en de namen van de weerbare mannen*, (Brussels, 1962), p. 100-105. Pajic, *Flemish Rebels*.

have followed the leaders of the rebellion, and economic migrants who principally came to London in search of employment in the textile sector.

5. *Flemings in other towns and areas 1351-1381*

After detailed studies on the number and profile of Flemish immigrants in London, Great Yarmouth and Colchester, one question remains to be examined. What was their number in other towns and regions? For this purpose and limited time span for the present study, I had to rely only on the edited sources that were easily accessible and on the selected manuscripts that I stumbled upon in the archives while working on the three aforementioned towns. Thus, the evidence of Flemish presence, mostly related to the textile industry, was found in Lynn, Norwich, Lincoln and Boston on the East Coast of the country. Further North, York seems to have had some Flemish immigration of noticeable importance. In the Midlands, Oxford and London surroundings in Middlesex and Southwark were the centres of attraction. While if we move westwards, cloth towns such as Coventry, Salisbury and Exeter had seen as well some permanent settlement from the people from the Low Countries during the 30 year period (1351-1381).

It seems convenient to start with the area on the East coast of England that had traditionally had the inflow of the immigrants from the Low Countries during the Medieval and Early Modern period – the county of Norfolk. Apart from Great Yarmouth and its excellent local records, we can conclude that Flemings did settle in other towns in Norfolk, even though the evidence is fragmentary. The most numerous were probably those who settled in the urban area of Norwich. Overall, the documentary evidence shows that there were 40 Flemings that settled in this town. Unfortunately, no detailed local source survives in Norwich for the 1330-

1381 period, therefore we must mostly rely on the very few of the coroner's rolls and selected cases from the King's Bench court held at The National Archives in Kew.[517] This limits our scope concerning their economic activities, nevertheless justifies their presence. Thus, in 1375, Simon de Almaigne accused Peter Soot from Zeeland for withdrawal from service under the Statute of Labourers.[518] John Blad de Flandre and John Wolf de Flandre were accused for murder of one Richard filius Hisbradissone from Holland.[519] One of the Flemings, John van Ostborch who killed in self-defense another Brabanter, Richard Foyt, was an exiled weaver from Bruges.[520] There was only one person admitted to the franchise in Norwich for whom we can say with certainty to be Flemish, John Fonteigne from Oudenaarde.[521] Only for him the town of origin is stated, there might have been other Flemings that were admitted, however, without more specific details, such as non-anglicized name, or origin, naming somebody else as Fleming, would be a far guess. In addition to these sources, the surviving leet rolls from 1374-5 make clear as well that the immigrants from the Low Countries were present in this town.[522]

That Norfolk was a good ground for Flemish immigration testifies the evidence from Lynn. One exile, Coppin Ishak from Diksmuide, was admitted to the freedom in 1351.[523] As we will see later, he operated from Great Yarmouth and was involved in the wool trade. In the surviving leet roll from 1360-61 John Smyth, Flemyng and five other immigrants from the Low

[517] TNA, JUST 3/134; JUST 3/223/1; JUST 3/139; JUST 3/158.
[518] TNA, KB 27/459 m. 36.
[519] TNA, JUST 3/223/1 m. 15.
[520] TNA/JUST/3/139, m. 26; CPR 1354-58, p. 284; For more details on the case, check chapter 3.
[521] Freemen Norwich admitted in 1360: *Calendar of the Freemen of Norwich from 1307 to 1600*, p. 54.
[522] Some 'Dutchmen' and John Saunderson, alien were attacked in their houses during the night by the locals. Also, William Coyt, a ship master from Dordrecht that operated from the port of Great Yarmouth seems to have had the residence in Norwich. *Leet Jurisdiction of Norwich*, pp. 62, 64.
[523] *A Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn, 1292-1836, Compiled from the Records of the Corporation of the Borough by Permission of the Town Clerk* (Norwich, 1913), p. 12.

Countries were fined for defaulting.[524] Obviously, Coppin Isaac was not the only Fleming to settle permanently in Lynn after the exile. Indeed, the particulars of the poll tax records as well as judicial proceedings after the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 show that the Flemish community was still present in 1370s.[525] As far as smaller towns in Norfolk are concerned, John Spinrocke, an exile from Bruges was murdered by a certain immigrant from the Low Countries, Henry from Brabant in 1363 in the town of Thetford.[526]

Even though Herbert Heaton attempted to reduce the importance of Flemish immigration in the northern county of Yorkshire.[527] However, if we are to judge by the evidence from the admissions into the franchise, the city of York seems to have had a steady inflow of textile workers from all over the Low Countries since the 1340s. From 1339 to 1349, nine immigrants from the Low Countries involved in the textile sector were admitted to the freedom of the city.[528] The immigration might have also been higher than it was previously thought, since outside the English capital, only the weavers of York are known to have contested the immigration of textile workers from the Low Countries, in 1342.[529] The evidence from the admissions to the freedom of the city shows that York had not remained a virgin territory for the Flemish exiles. Lawrence Conync, a weaver from Deinze and Georgius Fote, a fuller from

[524] NRO, KL/C 17/6; Next to the aforementioned John Smyth, there were also Henry Braban, John Rylond, Robert Conyng and Henry de Delft on this leet roll.
[525] Fenwick, *Poll Tax*, p. 156-162; Réville, *Le soulèvement*, p. 96-97.
[526] TNA, JUST 2/102 m. 4a; SAB, Politieke charters, 1ste reeks, n 497.
[527] Heaton, *Yorkshire Woollen*, p. 8-21.
[528] Thomas de Ipre (1339), Johannes Spoland de Dist, textor (1344), Nicholas Admare de Braban, webster (1345), Johannes de Colonia, webster (1345), Hankynus de Durdraught, toundour (1345), Henricus Morell de Flandre (1347), Arnaldus de Diste (1348), Petrus de Poperinghe (1349), Johannes de Diste (1349), Francis Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York: Vol. I, 1272-1558*, Surtees Society no. 96 (Durham, 1897), p.
[529] Petition Weavers of York, 1342, Ancient Petitions, TNA, SC 8/238/11890,.

Poperinghe became freemen in 1354.[530] Overall, there are 42 immigrants from the Low Countries that entered into the franchise during 1339-1375, one of them was Godfrey van Upstall, a weaver from Brabant, who was the first alien to be granted a denization letter, the swearing of oath of allegiance to the Crown which in return granted the same rights to the foreigner as to the English.[531] Also, Thomas Braban, webster de Malines, who got his freedom in York in 1354 employed Robert Burwell as an apprentice in 1367.[532] All this evidence from the edited sources suggests that with further analysis of the local archives in York, there might be more to the story.

Just below Yorkshire, in Lincolnshire, there was some Flemish presence detected as well.[533] There seems to have been violent disputes between Flemings and Brabanters who settled in this area. John Goderman, an exile from Ghent, was for example murdered by a weaver, John Burnet, from Diest in Brabant in 1365.[534] Also in 1375 a certain Galfride Webster, Braban was held responsible for the murder of Reginald Webster, Braban who both took residence in Lincoln.[535] On the surviving poll taxes from 1379 for Boston, few immigrants from the Low Countries are noticeable. William Flemmyng and Alice his wife paid the subsidy, while a certain John Sleght had Lamkin from Flanders for a servant.[536] One exile from Bruges, John de Seint-Trude might have also settled in Boston. This information is a little less certain, since

[530] Francis Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York: Vol. I, 1272-1558*, Surtees Society no. 96 (Durham, 1897), p. 48.
[531] He became freemen in 1375, but got the denization letter in 1393, on Van Upstall and his activities see Twycross, 'Some Aliens in York and Their Overseas Connections', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 29, 1998, p. 367-68; On denization letters see Lambert, Ormrod, 'Friendly Foreigners', *EHR*, 2015.
[532] *CPR 1364-67*, p. 325.
[533] On aliens in late medieval Lincolnshire see: Kissane A., Macman J., 'Aliens and the Law in Late-Medieval Lincolnshire', in *Resident Aliens in Medieval England*, Nicola McDonald, W. M. Ormrod, C. Tailor (eds.), forthcoming 2017.
[534] *CPR 1364-67*, p. 88.
[535] TNA, KB 27/459 m. 34 (rex).
[536] Fenwick, Poll Tax, p. 22, 23.

he appears only in the particulars of the customs accounts for Boston on 5 September 1365, as he loaded 19 pieces of cloths without grain on the ship of Peter de Risel.[537] On the other hand, Bartholomew Friend, an exiled fuller from Bruges was murdered by Walter Appel from Brabant in 1362 in Boston.[538]

[537] TNA, E 122/7/10 m. 10.
[538] TNA, JUST 3/32/2 m. 157d.

Table 2.6: Exiles other towns

English Sources	Lists of exiles in Flemish sources
Laurencius de Coninc, de Flandre, webster, York[539]	Lauwerens Coning, weaver from Deinze[540]
Georgius Fote, de Flandre, walker, York[541]	Joris Voet, fuller from Poperinghe[542]
John van Ostburgh, de Flandre, Norwich[543]	Jan van Oostborgh, weaver from Bruges[544]
Coppin (Jacob) Ishaak, de Dixmuth, Lynn[545]	Jacop Isaac, weaver from Dixmuide[546]
John Spinrocke, Thetford (Norfolk)[547]	Hannin Spinrocke, weaver from Bruges[548]
John Goderman, de Gaunt, Lincoln[549]	Jan Goedername, weaver from Ghent[550]
Bartholomew Friend, de Flandre Boston[551]	Meeus Vriend, fuller from Bruges[552]
John de Seint-Trude, Boston[553]	Jan van Sinte Truiden, weaver from Bruges[554]

When it comes to the industrial centre as the city of Coventry, already in some of her essays, a prominent economic historian, Eleonora Carrus-Wilson noticed the presence of the

[539] Francis Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York: Vol. I, 1272-1558*, Surtees Society no. 96 (Durham, 1897), p. 48.
[540] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 725.
[541] Francis Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York: Vol. I, 1272-1558*, Surtees Society no. 96 (Durham, 1897), p. 48.
[542] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 730.
[543] TNA, JUST 3/139 m. 26; Calendar of patent rolls Edward III 1354-1358, p. 284.
[544] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 719; SAB, Politieke charters, 1ste reeks, n 497.
[545] *A Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn, 1292-1836, Compiled from the Records of the Corporation of the Borough by Permission of the Town Clerk* (Norwich, 1913), p. 12.
[546] Cartulaire des Artevelde, p. 729.
[547] TNA, JUST 2/102 m. 4a.
[548] SAB, Politieke charters, 1ste reeks, n 497.
[549] *Calendar of patent rolls Edward III 1364-1367*, p. 88
[550] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 711.
[551] TNA, JUST 3/32/2 m. 157d.
[552] *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, p. 720
[553] TNA, E 122/7/10 m. 10.
[554] SAB, Groenenboek C, f. 118r.

immigrants in the textile trade. Apart from those from the Low Countries, she considered that the immigration of textile workers from Ireland to Coventry was even higher, but that both of them contributed to the industrial development of the city.[555] In the particulars of the poll tax records of 1379, there are 9 married couples, one man (Henry Braban) and one woman (Margareta Braban) with a surname 'Braban'.[556] For some of them the occupation is specified as 'webbe' and all these 20 immigrants paid the poll tax 4d, which seems to have been the tariff for the artisan. The surviving assize roll of 1358 makes it a bit clearer that those Flemings who found their way to Coventry were involved in the textile industry. Thus, Arnald le Braban, webbe, Michael le Braban, webbe, Reginald le Webbe, called Braban were fined 3s for taking excessive wages, while Margaret Braban, kemestere paid fine for charging 2d for combing 1lb of wool that fell foul of the Statute of Labourers.[557] During the 1360s, certain Matthew Bursel (Brussel?) was pardoned for the murder of one James Braban.[558] What is striking is that both in the 1350s and in the poll tax records of the end 1370s, the term used for Flemings in Coventry is always 'Braban'. Whether they were all from Brabant or not, still remains to be investigated. However, Coventry made its name on the international market through the 'Coventry blues'[559] and the expertise of the Brabantine weavers, coming from the Duchy whose textile industry was in great expansion by the 1350s[560], had certainly helped this development. In any case, the contribution of the Flemish and Brabantine immigrants to the

[555] Carrus-Wilson, The Oversea Trade of Coventry, ; Ibid., 'Trends in the export of English woolens in the Fourteenth century', In: Carus-Wilson Eleonora Mary, *Medieval Merchant Venturers: collected studies*, Methuen & co, London, 1967.
[556] Fenwick, *Poll Tax*, p. 679, 680, 683, 687, 688.
[557] TNA, JUST 1/971 m. 1d.
[558] *CPR 1364-67*, p. 376.
[559] Carrus-Wilson, The Oversea Trade, p. 372.
[560] Bautin, La Place de la draperie brabançonne, p. 40.

Coventry's textile industry and their lives would require (and would be interesting to get) further investigation.

In May 1350, Edward III issued letters of protection to those Flemings who, following the failure of the rebellion, had emigrated to London, Canterbury, Norwich, Salisbury, Lynn, and other English cities and towns. Very similar to those granted to a number of French residents in England during the same years,[561] the documents qualified the Flemings as *incolas*, a term derived from Roman law to denote permanent inhabitants born outside the kingdom. As a reward for their loyalty during the Flemish conflict, they were allowed to live in the realm, to leave, enter and move around freely, and to trade their goods. Officers were instructed to protect them against physical aggression and their property against confiscation.[562] Just the mere fact that Salisbury was specifically mentioned, makes us believe that some number of exiles certainly settled there. Colchester and Great Yarmouth for example were not specifically mentioned, and we have seen in previous chapters the number of Flemings in these towns. Unfortunately, the records of Salisbury for the 1350s seem to be very scarce. However, the Poll taxes actually reveal that even in 1370s, some Flemings involved in the textile industry still lived there. For example, Walter Flemyng and Hugo Braban with their servants and some other immigrants from the Low Countries paid the subsidy in 1379.[563] Salisbury was known for producing its rays, a striped fabric manufactured to narrower specifications than standard broadcloth, very similar to those from Ghent, as we will see later. Given the type of cloth the

[561] Lambert and Ormrod, 'Friendly Foreigners', 8-14.
[562] The letters were not entered on the Chancery's patent rolls but were recorded in an inspeximus confirmation by London's Court of Husting in 1364. Confirmation Letters Patent Edward III, 1364, CLA/023/DW/93/19, London Metropolitan Archives. For the context of the confirmation, see infra.
[563] Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, p. 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117; Apart from Walter, Hugo and their servants, there are Edward Braban, Johannes Fourne, Willelmus Waas, Johannes Gyngyvere, Richard ate Brugge, William Gys and Johannes Fogheler with obvious Flemish names.

Ghent exiles were aulnaging in London during the 1370s[564], it would not be surprising if some of them actually found their way to Salisbury after the banishment in 1351 as Edward III's letter of protection suggests.

Some other places that had seen some permanent settlement from the Flemings deserve as well to be mentioned here. Probably one the most unexpected places to find Flemish presence was the city of Oxford. Its Poll Taxes show that there were at least two weavers from the Low Countries that settled there with their wives. Arthebuk Flemyng, webbe and Goldhende his wife paid 18d, while John Moke, Flemyng, webbe paid 8d with his wife Isabella.[565] The guild of weavers in Oxford was granted a charter already in 1130, however by 1323, the craftsmen petitioned to the king to abolish its existence, as they were so poor that they could not pay the annual rent to the Crown. In 1352, the charter was confirmed and the weavers of Oxford were discharged from the arrears from the previous years.[566] How much of this was due to the possible arrival of the Flemish exiles in 1351 still needs to be further investigated. Next to Oxford, it seems that Cambridge had seen the occasional immigrants from the Low Countries, as Henry van Dale and John Flemyng were captured and accused for murder of Henry Fleghe from Louvain in Brabant in 1363.[567] Another inland town where some Flemish disturbances took place was Northampton. John Beket, Fleming was murdered by certain John Roderham in 1357, while John Fyndegold (Vinderhoude), a twisterer, Flemyng by William Brakele, Fleming in 1359.[568] Going southwards, Derek Keene had noticed some Flemish presence in

[564] Check chapter 6.
[565] Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, p. 343, 345.
[566] Victoria County History, The City of Oxford, p. 35-48.
[567] TNA, JUST 3/223/1 m. 330.
[568] *CPR 1358-1361*, p. 260; TNA, JUST 3/140; CPR 1354-58, p. 528.

the court records of Winchester during the 1350s.[569] Furthermore, a dyer from Flanders, Nicholas Appelman with other fullers and dyers in his company settled in Winchester during the second half of the 1330s.[570] Completely on the west coast, in the market town of Exeter, a certain weaver Wilkyn Webster, Flemyng was a householder in 1372.[571] Furthermore, Kowaleski gives few more references on Flemish permanent settlements in Exeter during the second half of the fourteenth century, with an argument that amongst the numerous foreign merchants that passed through Exeter, some of them probably remained there for a longer term.[572] The abundant surviving court records at the Devon Record Office would certainly require a more detailed study on this topic.

That the Flemings settled literally all over England, testifies the evidence from the London surroundings and from smaller places in Essex. Martha Carlin had already argued that the Flemish immigration to Southwark was visible both in fourteenth and fifteenth century.[573] Indeed, the Poll Tax returns show that there were at least 33 people with Flemish names in 1381. They were mostly women with suggestive names as Trude Frowe, or Bette Frowe, and employed as spinsters, or servants with hostelers and stewmongers, suggesting that some of them were active as prostitutes.[574] However, some cordwainers and textile workers seem to have found their way across the London bridge. A cordwainer John Burgeys had certain servant whose name was Gerkine, whose name suggests that he was from the Low Countries, while a certain dyer, Torinus Fleming had all his cloths and other goods confiscated from his house in

[569] Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, p. 380.
[570] *CPR 1334-38*, p. 500.
[571] Kowaleski, *Local Markets Exeter*, appendix, p. 307.
[572] Ibid., p. 77.
[573] Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 1996.
[574] Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, p. 564 For more about prostitution check chapter 6.

Southwark where he dwelled in 1375.[575] This confiscation might be linked with a murder that happened in Maldon in Essex in 1374. Indeed, the witnesses found that certain Giles Braban was murdered by Torinus Fleming and Henry van Drene, Flemyng, and further investigation was ordered.[576] Torinus (Victor in Dutch) was probably found not guilty, since a certain Victor Toryne, dyer had paid the subsidy in Southwark in 1381.[577] Around the same period, in 1377 by the coroner's investigation in the small town of Essex, it was found that a certain Claykyn Seland was murdered by William Wombekin, Flemyng with a dagger.[578] Also in Hedingham, Peter le Walssche, Flemyng, webbe was accused of manslaughter in 1374, suggesting that even the Flemish weavers might have followed the trends of moving towards the countryside at the end of the fourteenth century.[579]

Conclusions of the chapter

We have seen that various pull and push factors played a role for the Flemish immigrants to settle all over England. Favourable immigration policies from Edward III encouraged first weavers to cross the Channel and settle in an old textile centres during the 1330s and 1340s. Later on, it was the events on the other side of the Channel that pushed thousands of skilled workers to emigrate to England. Indeed, after the revolt in 1351 almost 2000 rebels were banished from the county of Flanders. It seems that the very big majority amongst them found the refuge in England as Edward III granted them protection, and indeed, they become very visible in the English sources from the 1350s. Most of them were followed by other family

[575] Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, p. 559; CPR 1374-77, p. 150.
[576] TNA JUST 2/35/5 m. 3.
[577] Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, p. 558.
[578] TNA JUST 2/35/5 m. 3.
[579] TNA JUST 2/35/5 m. 3.

members or rebels who do not figure on the lists of banished people, as the number of Flemings that do not match the lists is a lot higher than of those who do. Some of these who do not figure on the lists might have settled in England for economic reasons as well, as the textile industry in Flanders was already in decline due to several embargos on the export of English wool and endemic warfare. Thus, it leaves us overall with some 1000 people that figure in the sources of London, Great Yarmouth and Colchester during the thirty-year period 1351-1381. Some 200 of them can be traced to Flanders as they match perfectly the lists of banished people after the rebellion in 1351. We must add about 100 of those who took residence in other towns in England that weren't a part of detailed study for this work. Given the very pessimistic estimates of the previous studies about the number of Flemings that migrated and especially about the localities of their settlement and of the cloth industry[580], these new numbers and findings suggest strongly that the accepted views and hypotheses must be reconsidered.

[580] Gray, The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century, *Economic History Review*, 39:153, 1924, pp. 13-35; De Sagher, 'L'immigration des tisserands flamands', pp. 109-126; Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy 1150-1500*, London, 1980, p. 268; Heaton, *Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries*, p. 8-21.

Chapter 3: Social Relationships and networks of the Flemish community in England

Introduction

The number of Flemish immigrants that arrived to England during the 1350s had certainly made them visible enough for their neighbours in London, Colchester and Great Yarmouth. No hope of return after having been banished for eternity; directly made most of them act quickly to integrate the English lifestyle in all spheres. The present chapter is concerned to explore the integration process of the immigrant community and how it reflected on both the native population and themselves. I will first explore social relationships of the Flemish immigrants through the judicial documents. After that, their integration process and social networks as evidenced in the surviving testamentary records. Finally, I will conclude this chapter with the immigrants' violent behavior and analyze how all the aforementioned processes led to victimization during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

1. *Daily life*

Even though the Flemings lived in the same neighbourhoods and held congregations in the same parish churches as their English neighbours all the time, most of the evidence suggests that the Flemish immigrants had closer relationships with their fellow compatriots. We have seen earlier that the immigrants did not really create a ghetto in any of the three towns chosen for the purpose of this study, but they rather preferred to settle in areas where their trade was

already established by the natives.[581] Therefore, they inevitably frequented the native population, however, as we will see later, they rather chose to stay a tight-knit community.

This pattern is visible straight away from the arrival of Flemish exiles in all of the three towns. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in London, already in 1352 the Flemish weavers managed to organize themselves into a separate guild from the London weavers.[582] This decision was probably not made only on the basis of different organizational and production methods that existed between Flemish and English textile workers, organizing into a group of fellow compatriots might have given them a feeling of security. Mutual help from exiled Flemings was probably easier as they had the existing contacts amongst each other before coming to London.

The documentary evidence suggests that the Colchester Flemings also made use of the available institutions as soon as they arrived. Of the 1060 cases treated in the town's court of pleas and the hundred court between 1351 and 1367, 124, or 11.7 per cent, involved newcomers from Flanders, be it that more of them (111) acted as defendants than as plaintiffs (65). Considered over the whole period between 1351 and 1367, the proportion of Flemings appearing for trespass (56.5 per cent) was significantly higher than the overall average (36 per cent), that for debt and breach of contract (21 per cent) lower (55 per cent overall). The differences were much more pronounced during the first years after their arrival than during the later, however. Of the fifty-five cases involving Flemings heard before 1360, thirty-seven (or 67.3 per cent) were related to private property or physical aggression. Only five of the disputes (or 9.1 per cent) had arisen from debts or breach of contract, and in thirteen instances

[581] Chapter 2, see maps.
[582] *CPR 1350-54*, p. 232; For the context of this grant see Lambert, Pajic, Immigration and the Common Profit.

(23.6 per cent) the cause is unknown. The often violent nature of the pleas had little to do with manifestations of anti-alien hostility or xenophobia: Flemish litigants opposed the members of their own community in court (49.1 per cent of the cases) just as much as they did Englishmen (50.9 per cent). Walter le Baker, an immigrant from Ghent, was recorded in the borough court rolls three times between 1357 and 1361. In all of the cases he had fallen out with fellow Flemish exiles. In 1357, he proceeded against Simon Sporeman, also a Ghentenaar, who had violently attacked his wife Margery with a knife.[583] In 1360, Walter himself was accused of assaulting Daniel Flemyng. A year later, he was summoned by John Camber, a seller of clogs and coverlets from Diksmuide, for unspecified debts.[584] During the 1350s, the Colchester Flemings thus emerge from the records as a closed community which primarily used the available courts to settle existing and new disputes in its own midst. A similar pattern was observed by Alwyn Ruddock in late medieval Southampton, and by Martha Carlin in late medieval Southwark where the number of violent confrontations between foreigners alone far exceeded that between aliens and Englishmen.[585]

[583] ERO, D/B 5, CR 11, m. 1, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, p. 68.
[584] ERO, D/B 5, CR 13, m. 14, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls*, II, pp. 132, 178.
[585] Alwyn A. Ruddock, 'Alien merchants in Southampton in the later Middle Ages', *English Historical Review*, 61 (1946), p. 12; Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, p. 157.

Figure 3.1: Number and nature of cases that involve Flemings in Colchester Borough Court

Years court rolls	Flemings against English	Amongst Flemings	Involved in cases for trespass	Cases for debt or breach of covenant	Unknown	Fined for carrying a knife or being a night vagrant
1351/52	3		3			
1353/54	12	8	9	4	7	
1356/57	1	4	5			1
1359/60	12	15	20	1	6	5
1361	9	9	13	4	2	2
1364/65	15	2	11	4	2	2
1366/67	14	9	9	13	1	1
Total	66	47	70	26	18	11

Source: ERO D/B 5 CR 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15

After 1360, a slightly different picture prevails. As economic activity in the town increased towards the end of the 1350s, pleas for debt or breach of contract involving Flemings (twenty-one of the fifty-eight cases or 36.2 per cent between 1361 and 1367) caught up with those for trespass and assault (which dropped to thirty-three cases or 56.9 per cent), bringing the Flemish averages closer to the overall ones. The growth of business also reinforced the relationship with the local population: disputes with Englishmen (responsible for thirty-eight pleas or 65.5 per cent) now outstripped those between fellow Flemings (twenty or 34.5 per cent). Among the Anglo-Flemish cases, the proportion of proceedings for assault and theft (fifty-six per cent of pleas with known cause) was lower than among the litigation between exclusively Flemish parties (73.3 per cent), that of proceedings for debt and breach of contract higher (thirty-six per cent against 26.3 per cent), suggesting a pattern of economic collaboration rather than violent confrontation between the native population and the alien newcomers. The borough

courts now provided the Flemish community with the legal security that enabled them to fully engage in Colchester's economic life. Hanin Heyne, for example, appeared in court after a dispute had arisen over the sale of wool and a washing bowl with native Colcestrian Richard Bysouthen in 1360.[586]

Similar trends might be observed in Great Yarmouth during the same period with slightly more economic nature of pleas (Table). In the period 1352-1377, the Flemings appeared 140 times in the borough court, leet court excluded. In 91 cases they were in litigation against their fellow countrymen, and in 51 cases against English men and women. The most numerous cases were for trespass (71), while the debt pleadings were only slightly lower and concerned 57 cases. If we include litigations for breach of covenant (2), withdrawal from service (7) and detention of chattels (8), together with the debt cases, the pleadings of economic nature become the most numerous (76 against 71 for trespass). We must bear in mind that some of the pleadings that fell under trespass might have been of economic nature as well. Palmer has shown that the cases for trespass do not necessarily mean that there was physical violence involved. Trespass was used in some cases when the cloth was given for fulling or weaving and was torn or destroyed in the course.[587] For example in 1366 in Colchester, Katherine a wife of Clais Segher was accused of trespass by John Webbe. In the pleadings it is said that she was supposed to break the wool for him, but stole dyed cloth worth 30s, so no physical violence happened, but the case was still entered as trespass.[588] In any case, higher economic activity by the Flemings in Great Yarmouth than in Colchester is justified by the more lively activity in the port, proximity of Norwich as an established textile production centre, as well as by the higher

[586] ERO, D/B 5, CR 12, m. 18, calendared in Benham, Court Rolls II, p. 121.
[587] Palmer, *English Law Black Death*, pp. 203-204 and Appendix 11.
[588] ERO D/B 5 CR 15 m. 5, calendared in Benham, Court Rolls II, p. 193.

presence of merchants from the Low Countries and elsewhere, which automatically meant a lot more capital at stake.

Figure 3.2: Cases involving Flemings in Great Yarmouth court 1352-1378

Years court rolls	Flemings against English	Amongst Flemings	Involved in cases for trespass	Cases for withdrawal from service or covenant	Debt	Detinue
1351/52	4		2		1	1
1352/53	4	4	4	1	3	1
1353/54	6	19	16		7	
1354/55	10	9	9		9	1
1358-59		2			2	
1359-60		2			2	
1360-61	4	2			2	
1361-62	5	3	2		5	
1363-64		5	2		5	3
1366-67	1	1	1	1		
1367-68		6	4		2	
1369-70	3	3	3	1	2	
1370-71	2	2		1	2	1
1371-72	2	4	3		3	
1373-74	5	3	3	2	3	
1374-75		2	2			
1376-77	1	6	3	1	2	
1377-78	4	18	17	4	7	1
Total	**51**	**91**	**71**	**11**	**57**	**8**

From their arrival, Flemish exiles seem to have used the existing contacts with their fellow exiles from the continent in order to organize their trade. Thus, already in 1352, Walter

Collesad, a fuller from Bruges, was accused for an unspecified debt by Peter van Skelle, a banished weaver from Bruges.[589] A few months later, the same Walter sued another exile from Aalst, John Lythkyrke also for debt.[590] It seems that this case involved the production or sale of cloth because John Lythkyrke was distrained by a tunic and by one stone of wool. During the same year, the aforementioned Walter Collesad appeared four more times in the borough court. He was accused of trespass three times and once for breach of covenant.[591] Another case suggesting the economic cooperation between the exiled weavers and fullers from Bruges is the one involving Peter van Skelle and Bernard Gallin, a fuller. Again, Peter was accused of debt and was distrained by a coverlet and a kyte, presumably he did not pay Bernard for fulling tasks provided.[592]

Another evidence of closer ties between Flemings is acting as a pledge for prosecution or a surety in courts. Rodziewicz argued that in Great Yarmouth borough court, those people who acted as pledges were mostly those permanently settled in the town. She relates that even if the plea concerned outsiders, the place of origin of a pledge for prosecution was never recorded.[593] In case of Flemish exiles, her hypothesis is perfectly applicable. Those for whom we are certain to have settled in Great Yarmouth acted the most often as pledges for other Flemings, be it for boatmen, transient merchants or for craftsmen resident in Great Yarmouth. William Cappel for example appeared as a pledge to prosecute in a trespass case for ship master William Riqward

[589] NRO Y /C 4/ 75 m. 2 r.
[590] Ibid., m. 2 v.
[591] Ibid, mm. 3 r, 4 r, 6 v.
[592] NRO Y /C 4/ 76, m. 6 r; A kyte was apparently a sort of gown or a dress, see: *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 69.
[593] Rodziewicz, Great Yarmouth, p. 225: The place of origin is given only one time, to John Seman of Ludham.

de Flandre.[594] While the absolute recorder amongst the exiles to appear as a pledge for prosecution was of course Lippin Sceepstale, who acted in this role 5 times. In case of transient merchants, it might have been the case that the Flemish weavers who acted as their sureties were actually their hosts. It was a common practice in London, John Kempe for example was a host to an exiled weaver from Bruges, Francis fan Yabek, and John van Wettre to a money changer from Ghent, Feyns de Backere.[595] Both Lippin Sceepstale and William Cappel were fined for holding a tavern in 1370 and 1379[596], so it is not excluded that they hosted Flemish merchants for whom they acted as sureties.

[594] NRO Y /C 4/ 73 m. 1.
[595] For Francis fan Yabek and John Kempe, see: *CCR 1360-64*, p. 356, *CFR 1356-68*, p. 193; and for John van Wettre see: SAG 301/1, f. 246r.
[596] NRO Y /C 4/91 m. 10 r.

Figure 3.3: Flemings as pledges in Great Yarmouth borough court

Year/Term	Number of occurences
1351-52	1
1352-53	3
1353-54	
1354-55	1
1358-59	
1359-60	1
1360-61	1
1361-62	1
1363-64	1
1366-67	1
1367-68	1
1369-70	1
1370-71	
1371-72	1
1373-74	
1374-75	
1376-77	1
1377-78	2
1378-79	8
Total	14

Similar role to pledge was to become a bail for the good behavior and the appearance of a Great Yarmouth resident in the borough court. Between 1366 and 1381 people had to be bailed out 235 times in the Great Yarmouth court. All of the bails were male and most of the times the leading citizens of Great Yarmouth.[597] This practice to ensure the appearance in court was a lot more popular in Late Medieval England than custodial imprisonment.[598] As far as the Flemings are concerned, again, some particular features occur. Out of these 235 cases where someone had to take pledge for guaranteeing the good behavior and the appearance in the court

[597] Rodziewicz, Great Yarmouth, p. 239.
[598] Ibid.

for the defendant, Flemings appear in 42 cases. Most of the times they acted as a bail for their fellow compatriots. Thus, Maas de Seyntjones and Jacob Duchman pledged that John Baker, Duchman will keep the peace of the King towards Christian Juweler and that they will produce John's body in the court under penalty in order to reply to Christian on a plea of trespass.[599]

Acting as a pledge or surety, in cases that involved other fellow Flemish craftsmen resident in England, was probably based on a lot more personal relationship. The same was in cases where servants of Flemish craftsmen acted as plaintiffs. Thus, John Gerard, Dutchman and cordwainer was a pledge for his servant William when he was charged for trespass by Robert and Lambin de Selande.[600] In London, Flemish weavers acted as sureties for other weavers from the Low Countries on various occasions. Baldwyn Giles and Gerard ate Hyde, bailiffs of the Flemish weavers in 1366 were committed to prison because they encouraged their fellow weavers to stop working and for levying unlawful tolls from Lambekyn Ruyt. In this case 22 Flemish weavers (among whom John van Wettre, Gerard van Brugge, or Henry Naveger, who all acted as bailiffs at some point) became sureties for the good behaviour of all the Flemish weavers, who were forbidden 'to hold any covins, leagues or assemblies in future, or to levy any subsidies from the men of their mistery except on behalf of the infirm, blind and lame'.[601] In all of the cases, where pledges were recorded, Flemings who acted in this role were usually well established Flemish residents in England and with good knowledge of the local market and legal system. In this way they were probably of better help for transient merchants whom they were hosting, however, they acted as pledges a lot more for other Flemish more permanent

[599] NRO Y /C 4/88 m. 5r.
[600] NRO Y /C 4/85 m. 3r.
[601] *Memoranda rolls II*, p. 65-66.

immigrants which implies that closer links, friendly or neighborly relationships were apparently more determining point to become a pledge than the economic interest.

When it comes to the non-working environment, Flemings seem to have been doing pass time activities mostly with other fellow compatriots. Vices, such as playing dice, chess and other games were forbidden in most towns in Europe during the later middle ages.[602] It was the same in Colchester and for example in 1375, a Fleming, John Baker, paid a fine of 6d for playing dice and other games and took an oath that he will pay additional 6s 2d if caught another time.[603] Hanyn van Myre was fined twice for playing dice with other Flemings. Once for playing with Laudus van Vynk and on one more occasion with Thomas Ungered and Clais Taylor.[604]

The judicial evidence concerning brawls and murders imply as well that Flemings visited taverns and drank with other immigrants from the Low Countries. Gambling (probably cheating, or anger because of loss), mixed with alcohol and the availability of tools and weapons led sometimes to a violent behavior with fatal outcome. In 1373, William Scoemaker and Clais Taylor were accused of assault on John Geseburg in the tavern of a prominent citizen of Colchester George Fordham. They were subsequently found not guilty as the enquiry, led by another exile from Bruges, Cent Kempe, had shown that they acted in self-defense.[605] A similar case, with a bit more serious consequences for the attacker, happened in 1355 between two immigrants from the Low Countries who were Norwich residents. A banished weaver from Bruges, John van Ostburch was accused of murder of Richard Foyt from Brabant. During the

[602] Check: Marleen Maes, Kledij en sociale groepen in Zuidelijke Nederlanden (XIVde – XVde eeuw), Unpublished master thesis, Universiteit Gent, 1983.
[603] ERO D/B CR 17, m. 10d, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 81.
[604] ERO D/B CR 17, m. 9d, and CR 20 m. 15d, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 78, 186.
[605] ERO D/B CR 16 mm. 15d, 16, calendared in Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 45.

enquiry, the jury found that they were both drinking in the tavern of a certain John de Goneville. Suddenly, Richard started a dispute and insulted the aforementioned John. Shortly afterwards, Richard pulled out his knife and attacked John. As Richard was the first one to pull out the knife and as he was standing between John and the door, it was impossible for John to escape through Richard and the crowd in the tavern. The only thing left to do for John was to pull out his knife too, which he did, and he managed to stab Richard in his stomach. The jury found John not guilty because he acted in self-defense.[606] Not so long later, Edward III granted him a letter patent of special grace for this murder.[607]

However, it seems that after their arrival onwards, the Flemings created tighter relationships with the Englishmen only on the economic level, but personal relationships were still reserved for their fellow compatriots. Even when they were summoned for example at the leet court in Great Yarmouth to pay various fines such as for trading as a citizen while they were not, or for regrating of various products, Flemings were usually recorded in the same line by the scribe. It looks as if they had come collectively to the court, or were associated together in the mind of the town clerk. For example on the Southmiddle leet roll in 1378, four Flemings were fined for being regrators of ale and beer. Just below them, John Tailor, a Dutchman was fined as a common forestaller.[608] Further on, the same year and folio, on the South leet roll, William Tailor, Dutchman, John Elys, Webster, Paul Souter, Paul Dumburgh, Gerard Souter, Henry van Campe, Jacob Tailor, all of them immigrants from the Low Countries were fined for

[606] TNA, JUST 3/139, m. 26.
[607] *CPR 1354-58*, p. 284.
[608] NRO, Y /C 4/90, m. 12 r: Written on the membrane in the following order. 'Katerina Boudyn, Beatrix Cappelle, Aughte Legate, Thomas Seyntjones, Henry Hasard, tailor et Ducheman sunt comunes regratores de cervisia et ber idem ipsi in mercia'. Just below them on the same membrane: 'Johannes Tailor, Ducheman est comunis forstallator diversis mercandis ad grande nocumento civitatis'.

cutting and selling woollen and linen cloths against the statute and trading as citizens while they were not.[609] The similar pattern is observable in Colchester in cases that come from the police work in the hundred court.[610]

If we look at the servants and apprentices, there are also some indications that Flemings tended to appoint their fellow compatriots rather than the English. In 1370, Flemish and Brabantine weavers petitioned Edward III with the request to be able to hire the journeymen at separate locations. It was decided that the Flemings should hire their journeymen at the churchyard of St. Laurence Pounteney and Brabantines at the churchyard St. Mary Somerset 'and that the serving-men in that trade, as well of Flanders as of Brabant, should serve indifferently under the weavers of either nation, that is to say, as well under Fleming as Brabanter, who should wish to hire them for competent salary to work in that trade; without any impediment or gainsaying thereof, on pain of imprisonment, etc.'[611] The evidence here suggests that the immigrant master weavers preferred to hire their own, if not from the same duchy or county, at least from the Low Countries. In Great Yarmouth, an exiled weaver from Bruges, Christian fan the Scelle sued John van Gaunt for withdrawal from service.[612] It was not common only among the weavers to hire apprentices from the Low Countries. For example Paul Souter, a Dutchman and cordwainer had two servants, Gosekin and Lamkyn fan Durdraught. The former was sued for debt by William van Middelburg and the later for withdrawal from service by Paul Souter.[613] Given their forenames, it is obvious that Gosekin and Lamkyn were from the

[609] Ibid., William Tailor, Duchman, John Elys, Webster, Paul Souter, Paul Dumburgh, Gerard Souter, Henry van Campe, Jacob Tailor scindunt et vendent panni di linen et lanna contra statute et mercandirant tam quam burgenses et non sunt'.
[610] Check Benham, *Court Rolls II*, p. 78.
[611] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 344-45.
[612] NRO Y /C 4/91, m. 5r.
[613] NRO Y /C 4/85, m. 3r and NRO Y /C 4/83, m. 6v.

Low Countries. It is quite possible that there was an established network through friendly or family ties of sending young children to England to finish their apprenticeship. Of course, to a large extent, a lot of apprentices might have migrated on their own in search of work. For example, Galfride Fordele, an Englishman, had two servants originating from the Low Countries. He sued Mankyn van the Pythe for withdrawal from service in 1375, while his other servant William Yanesson drew blood from Roland Reys.[614] Another Englishman, Thomas Steel, a tailor, sued his apprentice John de Ecluse, tailor for withdrawal from service before the term ended.[615]

Even though it seems that the immigrants from the Low Countries preferred to hire their own apprentices, whether Flemish, Brabantine or Zeelander, this case of division between two camps in London suggests that there was some animosity during the 1360s. From that moment on, in the city of London, the Brabantines were granted the privilege to have their own ordinances and from 1362 there were two masters annually elected in order to supervise the trade of the English, Flemish and Brabantine weavers.[616] Other towns seem to have had the similar problem. As we have seen earlier, the immigrants from the Low Countries settled all over England, and if we take a look at the coroner's rolls, the towns of Norwich, Thetford, Lincoln, Boston and Cambridge had seen the murders between Flemings and Brabantines during the 1360.[617] Whether they were influenced by the events on the Continent or something happened within England, it is very hard to determine. Nevertheless, from 1377, when new

[614] NRO Y /C 4/86, m. 14v and NRO Y /C 4/91, m. 10v.
[615] NRO Y /C 4/84, m. 4v.
[616] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 345.
[617] Check chapter 1.

disturbances between foreign and English weavers occurred, the guilds of Flemish and Brabantine weavers reunited again.

2. *Flemish Social Networks through the Testamentary Evidence*

To reconstruct social networks, there is no more valuable source than wills. Apart from the information on wealth and parish of burial (place where the person had lived), wills provide a wide range of facts that can help us reconstruct the relationships between family members, business partners or neighbours. It is quite fortunate that the city of London managed to preserve the set of enrolled wills at various courts since the thirteenth century.[618] Minor problems notwithstanding, the wills in London are numerous and valuable, for the present study, and contain precious prosopographical information. No testamentary evidence of Flemish immigrants survives for Colchester and Great Yarmouth, thus I was obliged to use only those from London.

Given the size of its territory, legal development of the city and the size of the population, the City of London enjoyed several jurisdiction of probate which was determined by Londoners' wealth and whether he or she owned London burgage land or land outside the city.[619] In the fourteenth century those who owned property within the London burgage, and the wealthy in general, tended to have their wills enrolled in the court of Husting.[620] While those who were wealthier and owned property in more than one diocese had their wills enrolled in the

[618] On the availability of the wills in London during the Middle Ages check: J. Colson, Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London: Craft, Parish and Neighborhood, Unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway London, 2011, p. 51-55.
[619] Ibid., p. 51.
[620] *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting London AD 1258-1688* (2 vols.), Reginald Sharpe (ed.), Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1890.

Prerogative Court of Canterbury.[621] However, in general, Londoners preferred to have their wills enrolled with the courts of the Bishop of London; in the Archdeaconry and Commissary courts of London.[622]

Even though there are four courts with probate documents, as far as the Flemings are concerned, the evidence is quite fragmentary. The surviving documents at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and of Archdeaconry Court start only in 1389 and 1393, which is rather late for the purpose of this study. In reality, Archdeaconry Court gives the list of people in the beginning whose wills were approved since 1363, but no actual will can be found in the Bishop's register before 1393. These give us information of some Flemings who were buried in London, such as the weaver Michael Mommart, but no further facts can unfortunately be found, most of the times not even the parish of burial.[623] This leaves us with 29 wills overall enrolled by the Flemish community of London in the period 1374-1390. Justin Colson suggested that among the problems encountered when using wills in London for the purpose of prosopographical study are the limited number of individuals who made the wills and testaments, their strong adherence to convention which possibly limited scope for individual expression and their limited intended purpose.[624] Wills of the Flemings are no exception to this rule, but do allow us to draw some interesting conclusions when completed by other sources in London or in The Low Countries.

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[621] *Index of Wills to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and now Preserved in the Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London*, (12 vols), Church of England. Province of Canterbury, Prerogative Court. 1893.
[622] LMA MS 9171/1; LMA MS 9051/1; M. Fitch, *Index to Testamentary Records in the Commissary Court of London, Vol. I: 1374-1488*, London, 1969; Ibid., *Index to Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London*, vol. 1 (1363-1649), Guildhall Library London, 1979.
[623] Fitch, *Indexes Archdeaconry*, p. 260.
[624] Colson, Local Communities, p. 55.

Among these 29 remaining wills of the Flemish community in London, two of them are the most representative to demonstrate the relationships of the immigrants from the Low Countries. The two wills in question are left by two women, sisters in law; Lelia Blawer and Mabila Petersonne. They were related through John Peterson, called Ewersward, a haberdasher who was Lelia's brother and Mabila's first husband.[625]

Lelia Blawer wanted to be buried in the churchyard of St James Garlickhythe next to her husband, a dyer, Peter Blawer[626] and Belia Petersone at St Martin Orgar in Candlewick Street. We notice that both of them had ties through their husbands, who were both in the textile sector and also lived in places like other artisans from the clothing industry.[627] John Ewersward and Peter Blawer even did business together over the years while they were alive.[628] Both Lelia and Belia bequeathed various amounts to their respective churches and the clerics in them, a very common practice for the testators in the Middle Ages. However, it is through the bequests to the friends and family that we are able to reconstruct the relationships amongst Flemings in London.

The first noticeable thing about their wills is that they only bequeathed money, goods and real estate to other immigrants from the Low Countries. For example, Lelia left 2s 6d to John de Pape, who was her tailor, Gys Deigher[629] 2s, and John Dankart, her relative[630] who is apprentice

[625] For the translation of wills in their entirety, see Appendix.
[626] Obviously Peter was a Fleming as his name suggests, the Dutch version of this surname is Blauwere (blauw – blue, were – dye, Peter the blue dyer). Peter died one year earlier and enrolled his will at the Archdeaconry court, which, unfortunately, does not survive in its entirety see: M. Fitch, *Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London*, ed. Fitch, vol. 1, p. 40.
[627] Candlewick Street was traditionally known as place where drapers and weavers lived, while the parish St James Garlickhythe near the Thames was a place where dyers operated their business.
[628] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 284.
[629] Probably just an occupational name 'Dyer', by his forename, Gys is obviously an immigrant from the Low Countries.
[630] It is written in Latin cognato meo, which can mean also her brother in law, or just a relative.

of her brother John Ewersward. Already here we can see that servants and apprentices rather tended to be employed through family connections, or simply amongst Flemings, as suggested above in this chapter.[631] The remainder of all her goods, chattels, and debts, she left wholly to Mathilde, her daughter. However, as Mathilde was under aged at the time, Lelia left her for guardianship to the aforementioned John Dankart, her relative and her brother John Ewersward. She named John and his wife Belia her executors and left all of her ventures in her house together with the Stewhouse in Medelane to her brother John Ewersward. An interesting bequest is that of the Stewhouse, which is the first direct evidence of Flemish women being brothel keepers, as will be discussed in the chapter six.

On the other hand, Belia's will reveals some other interesting relationships when combined with the other London sources. She bequeathed to her relative William Mommart and his wife Katharine 60 shillings sterling, 1 *kertel* of red color, and 1 *courtepi* of *sangueyn* and to each of their children ("liberorum"), 6s. 8d. William Mommart might have been related to a Flemish weaver Michael Mommart who appeared in London sources on few occasions.[632] She bequeathed to Margaret, wife of John van Saverne and her son John van Saverne (who was apparently a godson of Belia's) various types of cloths and 6s 8d. John van Saverne was a bailiff of Flemish weavers in 1375.[633] Then she makes interesting bequests to her two husbands' relatives that I allow myself to insert in their entirety:

[631] Similar pattern of kin relationships between masters and servants was observed in Yorkshire by Jeremy Goldberg in: Goldberg, *Women, Work in Yorkshire*, p. 177.
[632] *Letter Book G*, p. 182; *Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London*, ed. Fitch, vol. 1, p. 260. Michael Mommart was not officially banished from Bruges, but the Mommarts appear as more or less prominent weavers in fourteenth century Bruges. See Verbruggen, *Het Gemeenteleger*, p. 112, or Jamees, p. 66 and database SAB, Vernieuwing Ambachtsbestuur Brugge, deans of weavers appear to have been linked with Mommaert family.
[633] *Letter Books H*, p. 17.

"*To the kinsmen ("cognatis") of John Otemele, my second husband, 40s. sterling to be divided among them, on condition that they hold themselves well contented for their part concerning the goods of the same John Otemele, otherwise they will have nothing by my legacy.*

In the same manner I leave 4 marks sterling to be divided among the "gentes de parentel' dicti Johannis Petressone nuper mariti mei," so that they hold themselves well contented for their part concerning the goods of the same John Petressone, otherwise they will have nothing by my legacy."

Her second husband, John Otemele, was a Flemish weaver, so from the Low Countries as well.[634] John Ewersward was from Zeeland suggesting a pattern that even for marriages, the Flemings would prefer to stay among Dutch speakers. Still, even though they were on the other side of the Channel, inter-city marriages within the Low Countries were not uncommon. For example, a banished shearer from Bruges, Lamsin Yperling got married with Agnes who was from Lille, they both settled in London after 1351.[635] The only case of intermarriage between Dutch speakers and English speakers, that I have come across in the fourteenth century so far, is the case of the daughters of Walter Bukke, a cordwainer from the Low Countries, who married skinners Robert Faun and John Frenshe.[636]

The bequests by both Lelia and Belia to the members of the Flemish textile sector living in London and to their relatives, strongly suggest an established network of chain migration on both sides of the Channel. A matter of trust between relatives probably facilitated the operating of business in a new environment, but also the settling of the newly arrived family members

[634] *Memoranda Rolls II*, pp. 65-66.
[635] LMA, CLA/023/CP/76, m. 15; Jamees, p. 74.
[636] *Letter Books H*, p. 353.

or friends from back home. These tight-knit relations probably made it easier for immigrants to adapt, especially after banishments during the 1350s.

In other wills left by the Flemish community, we also notice that they tended to bequeath their goods and have as executors, other Flemings. However, they still reveal that there was some level of integration even though the Flemings stayed amongst themselves. Charity and confraternal affiliations were quite common. Thus, a Fleming Nicholas van den Achere left a bequest to the hospital of St Katharine by the Tower.[637] An exile from Bruges, Peter Smyth de Flandre left a bequest of 2s to the fraternity of Cortrike (Courtrai) which was held at the St Martin Vintry church.[638] This church is known to be the place where the Flemings were dragged from and got killed by the mob during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 and for the first time there is a direct evidence that the Flemings actually held congregations over there. All of them made bequests only to their parish churches and wanted to be buried in London. There was only John Mitten from Zeeland who bequeathed money to both his parish church in London and in Zeeland.[639] Unfortunately, in his will he only says that he bequeaths 12d to the church St Odulphi in Zeeland, he does not specify in which town it is. Nevertheless, the fact that all other immigrants wanted to be buried in London and made bequests only to London parish churches strongly suggests that most of them had no plans of returning to Flanders.

[637] LMA MS 9171/1, fol. 97d.
[638] LMA MS 9171/1, fol. 89, 89d; This will and more substantial analysis of the testamentary evidence by the Flemish immigrants will be a part of a separate study.
[639] LMA MS 9171/1, fol. 74.

3. *Flemish Disorder*

This title is somehow due to the late Richard Britnell. During my first visit to the archives in the UK, I was honored to meet Professor Britnell in person and discuss my findings on Flemings in Colchester. He gave me his own Benham's editions of court rolls of Colchester. I was very lucky that they contained his notes, and among various notes, and whenever there was a case of trespass (cases of physical aggression) involving Flemings, Britnell would write with a pencil in the margins on the right hand side 'Flemish disorder'. Indeed, violent behavior of Flemish immigrants is quite visible in a variety of sources in all three towns. We have seen above that the cases of trespass in Colchester had little to do with xenophobia, because the Flemings resorted more to violence in cases amongst themselves. It was more or less similar in the Great Yarmouth borough court and in cases brought to the King's Bench concerning the city of London.

In order to maintain social order, local and royal authorities in England resorted to various instances of justice depending on the seriousness of the crime. Minor crimes, including night wandering, the carrying of weapons, physical aggression that fell short of felony, and all kinds of police work, were brought to the local authorities, the hundred court in Colchester and to the leet court in Great Yarmouth. Serious felony crimes such as homicide, rape, grand theft, abduction or adultery were presented in front of the higher jurisdiction courts, most notably the King's Bench and the Justices of Eyre.[640] The patent letters of protection granted by Edward III on in 1352 specified, among other things, that "in any damages injuries or trespasses done

[640] Richard H. Britnell, 'Colchester courts and court records, 1310-1525', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 17 (1986), pp. 133-40; Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities 1300-1348*, pp. 32-44.

to […] [the Flemings], justice shall be done for them without delay by mayors, sheriffs or bailiffs in whose bailiwicks the wrong has been done".[641] Therefore the banished Flemings had the access granted to all courts no matter their jurisdiction and they certainly made use of justice whether it was in their favour or not.

Apart from the economic offences, such as throwing garbage in the port or in the street, forestalling, baking and brewing against the assize, the local authorities were very concerned with fining the population as well for what was considered as unacceptable behavior. Cases of physical aggression such as hamsoken[642], drawing blood from someone with a knife, fist, stone and other tools available were usually brought to the bailiffs in a private suit commonly called trespass. If it was proven that the defendant was guilty, he would not only be obliged to pay the damages to the plaintiff, but also another fine to the city authorities at the summons of the leet court in Great Yarmouth or of the hundred court in Colchester. On 29 June 1375, Henry fan Buske accused in a private suit Laurence Souter fan Seland of trespass, and he was eventually found guilty and had to pay the damages to the aforementioned Henry.[643] Later on, at the summons of the leet court, it is stated that Laurence Souter had to pay a fine because he did hamsoken with the knife on Henry fan Buske in his house.[644]

[641] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1350-1354*, p. 147.
[642] In some places in England 'hamsoken' meant to attack someone in their house. For the discussion about hamsoken, check Rodziewicz, Great Yarmouth, p. 79-81 and the literature she cites.
[643] NRO Y /C 4/87, m. 5r.
[644] NRO Y /C 4/87, m. 20v.

Figure 3.4: Involvement of Flemings in violent offences in the leet court of Great Yarmouth

Violent offences	**Number of occurences**
Assault	6
Hamsoken	6
Drawing blood	14
Beatings	2
Total	**28**

Whereas not a single Englishman had been accused of settling disputes with knives since the year the borough court rolls start in 1310, seven Flemish immigrants were between 1351 and 1367. The arrival of a group of people with very different and, in many cases, more violent experiences thus forced the Colchester authorities to reconsider the available judicial infrastructure and to develop new sanctions and procedures. According to a decree by the mayor of London in 1362, it was proscribed that no Fleming, Brabanter or Zeelander was to carry a knife within the city.[645] This might be linked with the disputes that occurred between the Flemish and Brabantine weavers during the same year. Indeed the representatives of both communities petitioned Parliament to grant the Flemings to employ their own apprentices in front of St Laurence Pountney church and the Brabantines in front of St Mary Somerset 'because that the Flemings and the Brabanters were wont to fight and make very great affray

[645] *Letter Books G*, p. 150.

in the City'.[646] The number of murders that occurred between Flemings and Brabantines during the 1360s, as mentioned earlier, confirms that there was some animosity.[647] It seems in general that the immigrants from the Low Countries had a quite bad reputation. As we will see later, in Great Yarmouth, Flemings were usually accused of harbouring thieves, prostitutes and other malefactors. However, it is in 1378 that the rhetoric of the English craftsmen cannot be clearer. In a petition to the King, the English weavers of London stressed that most of the work in weaving is carried out by the Flemings, whom they thought were for the most part notorious malefactors, and that further explained why they had been banished from their own country.[648] This petition shows that the English weavers were quite aware that the Flemings were refugees in London. However, even though the Flemings were in a way exiled for siding with the English in the Anglo-French conflict, the English weavers still tried to use the Flemings' rebellious behaviour to make them seem as those 'of bad character'.

When it comes to felonies and cases brought to the King's Bench and the Justices Itinerant, during the period of study (1351-1381), Flemish immigrants appeared 45 times. I must stress that given the quantity of these sources, for the King's Bench, I focused only on those that happened in London and its surroundings and skipped those from Norfolk and Essex. For Great Yarmouth and Colchester, in order to analyze the involvement of the immigrants from the Low Countries in felony cases, I relied on the surviving coroner's rolls. To complement judicial sources, I also included in the analysis the pardon letters enacted on the patent rolls. In these 45 felonies, Flemish immigrants were indicted for homicide, abduction, mayhem, violation of

[646] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 345-46.
[647] Check chapter 2 and part with Flemings in other towns and also above in this chapter.
[648] *Letter-Books H*, p. 94; W. Mark Ormrod, John Kempe and Friends, *England's Immigrants website*. October 2014.

the Statute of Labourers, and for trespass *vi et armis*. In 28 or 62% of cases Flemings committed crimes against their own countrymen, 15 or 33% against the English, while only twice Flemish immigrants were the victims to the English perpetrators.[649]

Figure 3.5: Felonies committed by the Flemings

Felony	**Amongst themselves**	**Against the English**	**Victims to the natives**
Homicide	21	4	2
Mayhem	1	2	
Adding and Abetting	4		
Trespass *vi et armis* or contempt	1	7	
Related to Statute of Labourers	1	1	
Abduction	1	1	
Total	**29**	**15**	**2**

As for the cases that fell under physical aggression that were brought to the borough courts of Colchester and Great Yarmouth, the Flemish community committed felonies a lot more amongst themselves and against the English than they were the victims of the native xenophobia. In 1362, Laurence Shearman, Fleming accused John Mone, Fleming and Peter Mone, Fleming of mayhem that happened in Candlewick Ward of London. During the night,

[649] TNA KB 27/401/dorses IMG 6659. In 1360, John Bassyngbourn from Messeden and John Tailor from Chesham robbed 30 pounds from 'a certain Fleming' and killed him somewhere around Cheap and disposed of his body in the Thames. The case is only entered as such, and given the fact that the crime happened around Cheap, the amount stolen, and that the scribes had not even written the name of the Flemish victim, therefore it is quite possible that this Fleming was a transient merchant. This reference is taken from the database of AALT project and not from the TNA original rolls, thus the image number.

just before curfew, Laurence was ambushed by Peter and John around the parish St Martin Orgar in the Candlewick Street. John attacked him with the sword and cut off Laurence's finger on his right hand. He managed to escape, but the wounds were so bad that his hand stayed immortalized (which was probably fatal for his trade as well, given his anglicized surname, he was probably a shearer). John came to the court and stated that he was not guilty, and the jury ordered the date to hear his pleading.[650] Unfortunately, the rest of the pleadings does not survive, therefore the case might have been settled outside of the court. The fact that Laurence Shearman was ambushed by two fellow countrymen shows that the case was personal, implying again that Flemings stuck to their own community, all the bigger the chances to get involved in personal grudges.

Another case that involves personal grudge between Flemings also comes from London. John Clerk, a Fleming accused John Fynger, another Fleming that the latter had abducted his wife Katerine with all of his goods. John Clerk presented the case to the King's justices in 1370. However, John Fynger did not come for the pleadings. After the inquiry, it was established that John Fynger together with Katerine escaped to the Western parts of the Kingdom in Gloucestershire. The sheriffs of London sent a writ to the sheriffs of Gloucester to capture John on sight, however, as most of the cases brought to the King's Bench, the rest of the case was probably lost or never continued since the defendant had been granted (or bought) a pardon letter.[651] Another interesting feature of this case is the confirmation of the Flemish presence in Western parts of England, which goes hand in hand with the new evidence presented in the chapter 2.

[650] TNA KB 27/405 m. 17.
[651] TNA KB 27/439 m. 66.

Conclusions of the chapter

All the evidence presented above suggests that the Flemish community had most of their social relationships with their own fellow compatriots. Whether this was intentional or even pushed by the natives or local authorities, still remains very hard to determine. In terms of language and comprehension, staying amongst themselves facilitated adaptation for new arrivals and mutual help in general. Congregations they held, seemed to be amongst the Dutch speakers. Flemings also preferred to employ servants and have tighter trade connections with family members or at least with their fellow compatriots. After the massive arrival of the exiles during the 1350s, Flemings became the most numerous and the most visible foreign community in late medieval England. Indeed, it was normal that they stuck to themselves, since they were numerous enough to create their own world within the English population, especially in the textile sector and brothel keeping. Their number and the increased visibility in urban areas, and especially the fact that they stuck to themselves, probably led to the easy victimization during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, as we will see in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Flemings and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381[652]

Introduction

At the end of May 1381, disagreements about the payment of the royal poll tax in the English county of Essex sparked off a violent uprising that would soon spread across other parts of the country and would become known as the Peasants' Revolt.[653] On 13 June, the rebels, now coming from a wide range of social backgrounds and motivated by various grievances, entered the city of London and attacked several symbols of royal and other authority. The next day, Friday 14 June, the Flemish community living in the capital was ferociously massacred. The bloodshed was recorded soon afterwards and in later accounts both by chroniclers and in administrative sources such as the letter books of the city of London.[654] Their reports are remarkably unanimous and allow us to reconstruct the main course of events on that fateful Friday: following several isolated incidents involving Flemish residents in Southwark and Holborn the day before and earlier on the same day, thirty-five to forty Flemings were dragged out of churches and houses in the city's Vintry Ward, near the Thames, and were summarily beheaded. Colchester and Great Yarmouth as well as some other places in Norfolk and Essex had seen the murders of the Flemings.

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[652] Introduction, as well as parts 1 and 2 of this chapter are entirely based on research conducted for the article accepted for publication in connection with the project IAP City and Society: B. Lambert and M. Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth-Workers, Flemish Exiles and Royal Policy in Fourteenth Century London', *Journal of British Studies,* 55/4, 2016.

[653] The bibliography on the revolt is extensive. A good introduction is *The English Rising of 1381*, eds. Rodney H. Hilton and T. Aston (Cambridge, 1984). An overview of the most relevant primary sources is given in Richard B. Dobson, ed., *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London, 1983).

[654] For the most detailed accounts, see V.H. Galbraith, ed., *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333 to 1381: From a MS. Written at St Mary's Abbey, York* (Manchester, 1927), 145; L.C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey, eds., *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394* (Oxford, 1982), 6-9; John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss, eds., *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2002-2011), 1: 430-1; Henry T. Riley, ed., *Memorials of London,* p. 450.

Unfortunately, none of the medieval authors elaborated on the attackers' reasons for turning against the Flemings. As even the most concise amongst the commentators found it necessary to highlight that all victims originated from Flanders, it seems safe to assume that they did not end up being accidental casualties of an angry mob but were specifically targeted. According to one fifteenth-century chronicler, the perpetrators used the inability to pronounce the shibboleth "bread and cheese" to single out Flemish people.[655] It is, however, difficult to relate the murder of this specific group to the more general concerns that inspired the participants in the Peasants' Revolt, centered upon the abolition of villeinage, the specifics of English labor legislation, and the right to rent land at low rates. In a recent study, Erik Spindler claimed that the rebels asserted their English identity by opposing and violently excluding those who were nearest to, but different from them, the Flemings.[656] Len Scales drew on the contemporary silence about the motivations of the 1381 murderers to argue that the idea of eradicating other ethnic groups was much more central to, and evident in, medieval thought than we assume, and therefore did not need additional explanation.[657]

The most widely accepted views on the massacre of June 1381 are those that take into account the economic context of the Flemish presence in fourteenth-century London. Already in 1898, in his introduction to André Réville's unfinished work on the Great Rising, Charles Petit-Dutaillis suggested that the victims in Vintry Ward were weavers from the Low Countries living and working in the city. The perpetrators would have been London's native cloth workers, disgruntled with the competition of the newcomers from abroad.[658] In his *Bond Men Made Free*,

[655] Charles L. Kingsford, ed., *Chronicles of London* (Oxford, 1905), 15.
[656] Erik Spindler, "Flemings in the Peasants' Revolt, 1381," in *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale*, eds. Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner and R.J.L. Shaw (Woodbridge, 2012), 59-78.
[657] Len Scales, "Bread, Cheese and Genocide: Imagining the Destruction of Peoples in Medieval Western Europe," *History* 92, no. 307 (July 2007): 284-300.
[658] André Réville, *Le Soulèvement des Travailleurs d'Angleterre en 1381* (Paris, 1898), xlvii-viii.

Rodney Hilton further developed Petit-Dutaillis' views adopting a class conflict perspective. The attack could have been orchestrated by either English master weavers jealous of the privileges bestowed upon their alien counterparts or English apprentices and journeymen at daggers drawn with their Flemish masters.[659] Caroline Barron, and, in her wake, Alastair Dunn, also argued that the onslaught was made on Flemish textile workers, whose presence had jeopardized the livelihoods of the city's English artisans.[660] Alerted by a shockingly trivializing comment on the events by Geoffrey Chaucer in the Nun's Priest's Tale,[661] Derek Pearsall concluded that the assault was the result of both the economic rivalry between native and Flemish craftsmen and the fear of a foreign military invasion.[662] London's native and alien cloth workers also had a history of often violent opposition. Between 1337 and 1381, proclamations ordering the English weavers to stop molesting their Flemish colleagues had been issued on at least seven occasions.[663] No carnage of the kind that took place during the Peasants' Revolt had been reported, but if we are to believe a petition submitted by the alien cloth workers in 1377-8, these attacks had equally resulted in the loss of Flemish lives.[664]

As can be seen, the phenomenon of the immigrants from the Low Countries in the Peasants' Revolt was mentioned in several studies, but no author has convincingly accounted the reasons to turn

[659] Rodney H. Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (London, 1973), pp. 195-8.
[660] Caroline M. Barron, *Revolt in London, 11th to 15th June 1381* (London, 1981), p. 6; Caroline M. Barron, "Introduction: England and the Low Countries, 1327-1477," in *England and the Low Countries*, eds. Caroline M. Barron and Nigel Saul (New York, 1995), 1-28, at 13; Alastair Dunn, *The Great Rising of 1381* (Stroud, 2002), 90.
[661] Larry Dean Benson, ed., *The Riverside Chaucer* (Boston, MA, 1987), 260.
[662] Derek A. Pearsall, "Strangers in Late Fourteenth-Century London," in *The Stranger in Medieval Society*, eds. F.R.P. Akehurst and Stephanie Cain Van D'Elden (Minneapolis, MN, and London, 1997), pp. 46-62, at 58.
[663] *Letter-Book F*, p. 190; *CCR, 1339-41*, p. 103; *1343-6*, p. 486.
[664] Petition Alien Weavers of London, 1377-8, Ancient Petitions, SC 8/143/7122, The National Archives. The full content and context of the petition are discussed below.

against them. With some of the new evidence, in this part, I will try to make new insights since the story about the Flemish victims and the reasons to attack them still remains unclear. There is at least one thing that the evidence allows us to conclude, Flemings were murdered in all three towns that are a central figure to the present study. Concerning the decades before the massacre and the facts that might have led to the rebels to kill the Flemings, only London is well documented and there is clear evidence that the Londoners did not like the Flemings. For Great Yarmouth and Colchester, no complaint can be found about the Flemish immigrants, however, some conclusions may be drawn based on the evidence from the court rolls.

1. *Flemings and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 in London*

Besides other marks of royal authority, various manorial and borough records were destroyed. It was there that the tenant's obligations were recorded and where manorial lords used to collect and enroll precedents about terms of tenure from court records to be used to increase the lords' rights. On the other hand, tenants wanted to destroy these precedents and set up a new tenurial system.[665] Colchester, for example, saw the court records for the 1381-82 term destroyed.[666] Similar logic might be observed here as well. However, what would the destruction of various precedents have to do with Flemings? To answer this question, we must take into account what was going on between the Flemish immigrants, the privileges they received and the native population in all three towns.

[665] Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free*, p. 156
[666] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, p. 123; The whole context of the revolt in Colchester will be discussed below in this chapter.

The oldest known chartered craft in London, the native weavers had received privileges from King Henry II in 1155, stating that they alone had the right to produce cloth in the city.[667] They were organized in a guild and paid an annual farm to the Crown for their franchises. In 1352, they petitioned the king and his Council in Parliament to protest against the fact that, contrary to their privileges, the alien cloth workers worked outside their guild and did not contribute to their farm. The petition itself is lost, but an entry on the plea rolls makes clear that Edward III thought it better not to have the issue addressed in Parliament. He referred the matter to his Court of the Exchequer, where delegates from both parties were invited to attend. Representatives of the native guild presented their 1155 charter and a resolution by their city's Court of Aldermen made in 1347 that all newcomers should be ruled in the same way as denizen weavers.[668] The Flemish delegation reminded the Barons of the Exchequer of Edward's 1337 statute, which guaranteed them unlimited franchises, and they obtained a stay of proceedings, halting further legal process.[669]

The Londoners would not back down so easily. Again in 1352, the Flemish cloth workers petitioned the king and Council complaining that they continued to be harassed by the guild of native weavers. They wanted a confirmation of their freedom to work in England, as promised in 1337, and the authority to elect two of their own men to supervise their work. The response of the Crown, written on the dorse of the document, could hardly be clearer:

> Because this petition touches the common profit of all the realm of England and of the lands specified in it, our lord the king, with the assent of the prelates, earls and barons, and

[667] For the text of the privileges, see Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, p. 180-1.
[668] For this ruling, see *Letter Books F*, p. 173.
[669] Verdict Court of Exchequer, 1352, TNA E 13/76, mm. 97-98d. The entry contains the original text of the petition and its endorsement. For a full transcription, see Thomas Madox, *Firma Burgi, or an Historical Essay Concerning the Cities, Towns and Buroughs of England* (London, 1726), pp. 283-7.

> other great men in this full parliament, grants for himself and his heirs to all and singular alien cloth workers ... who then resided in this kingdom ... and should thereafter come and abide there and follow their craft ... that they may safely abide in the realm under the king's protection, and may freely follow their craft; without being answerable to the members of the guild of weavers of London, natives, or of other cloth workers of this realm, or liable to pay any sums of money by reason of such guild.[670]

Not only could the Flemish textile workers organize themselves in any way they preferred, new artisans from overseas were encouraged to join them. On 8 February 1352, the king's decision was enacted on the patent rolls.[671]

Gwilym Dodd has drawn attention to the remarkable contrast between the strong references to the interest of the whole realm in Edward's response on the one hand and the fact that the Flemings' petition was never even adopted by the Commons in Parliament on the other. Why would an isolated request by a specific group of immigrant workers receive such vigorous support from the royal government?[672] Against the background of the earlier development in the Crown's views on immigration and combined with the referral of the natives' criticisms to the Exchequer, the forceful royal rhetoric in the endorsement makes perfectly good sense, however: what was at stake was not only the private interests of the Flemish weavers in England, but also the Crown's own policy. In the face of the Londoners' persistent resistance, the royal perspective on the immigration of alien workers needed to be expressed more convincingly than ever. To do so, little

[670] Petition Alien Weavers of London, 1352, TNA, Ancient Petitions, SC 8/110/5463. See also *PROME*, 5: pp. 62-3.
[671] *CPR, 1350-4*, p. 232.
[672] Gwilym Dodd, *Justice and Grace: Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007), p. 143.

was more effective than referring to the common profit. In a recent article, Mark Ormrod has shown that already in English political discourse during the fourteenth century, this notion functioned as an exclusive device by which good governance that benefited the material prosperity of the realm was framed.[673] By adopting the attraction of Flemish cloth workers as part of this programme it was presented as an asset to England's economy that far exceeded the interests of particular groups. To do so as explicitly as in the 1352 endorsement forced even the craft guilds in the country's most powerful city to think twice.

The Crown's endorsement of the Flemish petition had an immediate effect. In October 1352, eight months after the enrolment of the letters patent, an agreement was made between delegations of London's native and alien cloth workers, including exiles John and William Brunhals, Henry Clofhamer, Levin Godhalse, John Kempe, John van Loo, Levin Olivier, Giles Ripegast, John van Somergham, and John atte Were. The English weavers acknowledged the Flemings' freedom to work in the city and promised no longer to attempt to incorporate them within their guild. The Flemish textile workers were prepared to contribute to the annual farm to the Exchequer and agreed to a joint supervision of their looms. They would also refrain from undertaking further legal action against their English colleagues.[674] The agreement implied the de facto recognition of the alien weavers as a separate guild. From the end of 1352 onwards, the names of their bailiffs, among whom were exiles such as Lambert Funderlynde, John le Gurterre, and Henry Navegher, were recorded regularly in the city's letter books.[675] The compromise was not the only indication of a rapprochement during these years. In 1356, exile John Kempe from

[673] W. Mark Ormrod, "'Common Profit' and 'the Profit of the King and Kingdom': Parliament and the Development of Political Language in England, 1250-1450," *Viator* 46, no. 2 (2015), pp. 219-52.
[674] Agreement Native and Alien Cloth Workers, 1352, LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/80/184. For a full transcription, see Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, p. 188-91.
[675] *Letter Books G*, pp. 2, 16, 48, 104, 131, 237; *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 84.

Ghent even obtained the citizenship status he needed to sell retail in the city by joining the guild of native weavers. Three of his sureties were John Payn, Richard atte Boure, and John Bennet, London cloth workers who had brokered the 1352 agreement.[676] Soon enough, however, the more conciliatory voices within the native guild lost out against the more radical elements. Confronted with the emphatic expression of royal support for the alien cloth workers, the natives abandoned their political action and turned on the immigrants once more.

In a petition of 1377-8, the Flemings would claim that because of the privileges granted to them in 1352, the English had "murdered, wounded, and horribly trampled down" some of their members.[677] In June 1355, the king addressed a writ to the mayor and sheriffs of London, telling them to intervene. The text referred explicitly to the immigration of the exiles, condemning the molestation of the "men of Flanders ... banished from those parts for adhering to the king."[678] In July 1359, Edward III had again to forbid the physical aggression against those from the Low Countries pursuing their business in both the city and the suburbs.[679] Only four months later, in October 1359, another proclamation against the onslaughts had to be made.[680] According to a decree by the mayor in 1362, Flemings, Brabanters, and Zeelanders felt so unsafe that they constantly carried knives and other weapons with them.[681]

In the course of the 1360s, attention in most of the sources temporarily shifted from the violence between native and immigrant cloth workers to the internal problems within the guild of alien weavers in London. For a number of years, disputes abounded between Flemings and

[676] Grant of Freedom of City of London to John Kempe, 1356, LMA, CLA/023/CP/01/80, 4d.
[677] Petition Alien Weavers of London, 1377-8, Ancient Petitions, TNA SC 8/143/7122.
[678] *Letter Books G*, p. 42. *CCR, 1354-1360*, 221.
[679] *Letter Books G*, p. 109.
[680] *Letter Books G*, p. 112.
[681] *Letter Books G*, p. 150.

Brabanters, who may have arrived following Louis of Male's invasion of their duchy in 1356, and between Flemish masters and journeymen.[682] It would be wrong, however, to consider the struggles within the alien guild and the Anglo-Flemish conflicts as totally unrelated. The native weavers' resistance to the Flemings' self-governance seriously undermined the latter's authority to regulate their craft. When issues transcended the interests of the particular guild, the Flemish weavers even depended on the goodwill of their London rivals. Inspired by the greater opportunities for labourers in post-Plague England, Flemish journeymen, among whom were the exiles John and Peter Pape, and John Tybes, refused to work for less than 7d. a day and threatened their own bailiffs in 1355. The mayor ordered a joint committee of native and alien weavers, including the banished Giles Ripegast, Henry van the Rothe, John van Somergham, and John atte Were, to negotiate about appropriate wages. In the end, the traditional enmity between both groups prevented them from reaching a compromise and the matter was not settled.[683] Represented by exiles Henry Clofhamer, John Gaunsterman, and John van Wetere, the guild of alien cloth workers had its ordinances approved in 1362, and again in 1366,[684] but, unlike the native weavers, who had enjoyed their private court or "soke" since their first charter in 1155,[685] was not granted its own jurisdiction. This made it hard for the Flemish bailiffs to control the collective actions that continued to occur throughout the decade.[686]

Fear of the Londoners' aggression had not completely disappeared either. In 1364, a number of alien cloth workers, including exiles James Westeland and John van Langeford,

[682] A stronger presence of Brabanters was also attested during these years in Colchester. Lambert and Pajic, "Drapery in Exile," 749.
[683] *Memoranda Rolls I*, p. 248.
[684] Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 306-8, 332.
[685] George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London, 1925), 43-6.
[686] Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, p. 43-9; Good, "Alien Clothworkers," p. 12-15.

appeared in the London Court of Husting to obtain an inspeximus confirmation of Edward III's letters patent of May 1350, which had promised protection against attacks and swift redress in court for all Flemings settling in the realm.[687] In 1369, when the failure of the English king's attempts to marry his son to the Count of Flanders' daughter might have resulted in a climate more favorable to anti-Flemish concerns,[688] the assaults effectively returned. Having "heard by frequent report of several that evil and insult is by the people of the said city daily inflicted on the ... men and the merchants [of Flanders] dwelling there and coming thither", Edward III once again insisted that bloodshed should stop.[689]

To interpret the constant attacks by the London weavers in Parliament and in the streets throughout the 1350s and 1360s as a function of general anti-alien sentiment or even of the fear of being outcompeted by the Flemings would be an oversimplification. To fully understand the native textile workers' frustrations, it is essential to take into account the developments in the London cloth market during the second half of the fourteenth century. The Black Death had not reduced the demand for the middling and high-quality types of cloth being produced by the Flemish weavers in the capital. The market for luxury colored textiles may even have expanded, as living standards rose and substantial quantities could be sold to noble households and the royal court. In 1350-1, the king's Great Wardrobe spent 53.8 per cent of its money for drapery purchases on coloreds.[690] As we will see later, Flemish exiles also maintained contacts with the London drapers, who monopolized these sales to the court.[691] In 1367, for example, Arnold Skakpynkyl and Nys

[687] Confirmation Letters Patent Edward III, 1364, CLA/023/DW/93/19, LMA.
[688] J.J.N. Palmer, "England, France, the Papacy and the Flemish Succession, 1361-9," *Journal of Medieval History* 2, no. 4 (1976), p. 339-64.
[689] *CCR, 1369-74*, p. 91.
[690] Oldland, *London Clothmaking*, p. 64, n. 14.
[691] Oldland, "Making and Marketing Woollen Cloth," p. 94.

van de Vyure from Ghent sued draper Nicholas Rouse for a debt of £9 19s.[692] During the 1350s, cloths imported from abroad, which were usually the higher-quality varieties, still constituted the majority of textiles sealed by the aulnager in London.[693] By the second half of the 1370s, when the Flemings were aulnaging vast amounts of fabrics, all but a few of these imports had disappeared.[694] Edward III's policy of encouraging Flemish craftsmen thus seems to have had an effect.

There are even indications that a small part of the Flemings' output was exported. Between 1362, the year in which the guild of alien weavers had its first ordinances approved, and 1366, the new category of "cloth of Flemish manufacture" figured among the exported cloth types in London's enrolled petty customs accounts.[695] Unfortunately, there are no particulars of account that allow us to identify the exporters. Banished Flemings dealt with London mercers, who, during this period, were among the leading traders of English cloth abroad.[696] In 1364, John van Stene, an exile from Ghent, sued mercers John Peutre and Henry Forester for debts of £23 0s. 3d. and £4 17s.[697] The Flemings' woollens may have been sold in Gascony, one of the principal markets for English cloth during the fourteenth century.[698] Cloth produced in England was officially banned from Flanders,[699] but some of the exiles, who benefited from a cheaper and more secure supply of wool than their competitors across the Channel, may have used their ambiguous backgrounds to

[692] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 270.
[693] Oldland, *London Clothmaking*, 64-5.
[694] Particulars of Account of Aulnage, 1374-6, 1376-7, TNA, E 101/340/ 22, m. 3; E 101/340/23, mm. 5, 5d.
[695] The original reads "panni di Flandria". The translation is Stuart Jenks'. Stuart Jenks, ed., *The Enrolled Customs Accounts (PRO, E356, E372, E364), 1279/80-1508/09 (1523/24). Part 4: E356/9, E35610, E356/11, E356/12, E356/13* (London, 2006), p. 1061-5.
[696] Oldland and Quinton, "Cloth Exports," 125. Anne F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 148-50.
[697] *Memoranda Rolls I*, p. 279.
[698] Oldland and Quinton, "Cloth Exports," p. 120.
[699] For the Flemish ban on English cloth, see John Munro, "Industrial Protectionism in Medieval Flanders: Urban of National?," in *The Medieval City*, eds. Harry Miskimin, David Herlihy, and A.L. Udovitch (New Haven and London, 1977), p. 229-68.

export to their county of origin anyway. In 1362 John Kempe and Francis Fan Yabek, banished from Ghent and Bruges, were caught by the London searcher for sending two pieces of cloth uncustomed to Flanders.[700]

The fortunes of London's native weavers contrasted sharply with those of the Flemish exiles. During the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the city's English cloth workers had experienced a revival as they had been able to extricate themselves from the dominance of the burellers and technological advancement had enabled them to broaden their range from semi-worsteds to cheap, coarse full woollens. The Black Death did reduce the demand for lower-quality cloth, however, although not as much as the drop in the population figures might suggest.[701] In 1364, the native weavers were also denied the retail sale of their own products, as only drapers now had the right to market cloth in the city. This did not automatically mean these drapers would buy from local cloth workers. In 1351, London's exemption from the Statute of York, which, in 1335, had allowed all merchants to trade freely throughout England,[702] was lifted. This enabled provincial weavers, who were able to work with lower costs, to flood the city with their less expensive textiles. While London developed into the kingdom's most important cloth market, its native cloth workers became uncompetitive. Many moved out of the city to escape payment of the farm to the Crown. They elected members to the Common Council, the representative assembly

[700] *CCR, 1360-1364*, 356; *CFR, 1356-1368*, 193. Both exiles were considered as alien by the English customs administration.
[701] John Munro, "The Origins of the English 'New Draperies': The Resurrection of an Old Flemish Industry, 1270-1570," in *The New Draperies in the Low Countries and England*, ed. N.B. Harte (New York, 1998), p. 35-127, at 67-8.
[702] *Statutes of the Realm*, 1: p. 270-1.

of the city's mysteries, but, dominated by the mercantile guilds, their political influence was limited.[703]

Switching to the types of cloth in which the Flemings specialized, where demand was sufficient and provincial competition less fierce, might have solved some of the native weavers' problems, but they were unable to do so. The production of rayed cloth required specialist weaving and shearing skills, which they did not have.[704] Making coloreds demanded even more specific know-how, mostly in the preparation of the yarn, which, during this period, no English producer had.[705] The natives' lack of capital and control over the complete production cycle also prevented them from following up on the preferences of the end customers who specified the colors and other specifications of the rays, and from imposing the very high quality standards needed for manufacturing colored cloth. This explains, at least in part, why the London weavers pursued the supervision of the guild of alien cloth workers with such determination: with the Flemings' incorporation came their expertise, their capital, and their unique selling proposition. The Flemish weavers may already have been refusing to hire English apprentices and servants as they would do in the late fifteenth century in order to avoid the dissemination of their skills.[706]

When, in a petition to the king in 1376, the native weavers deplored that the "Flemings, Brabanters, and other aliens have at present, and for a long time have had, the great part of the said mystery",[707] they were, thus, not principally targeting a group of competing artisans who had

[703] Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500* (Oxford, 2004), p. 220-1; Oldland, *London Clothmaking*, p. 67-78; Quinton, *Drapers and Drapery Trade*, p. 113-17.
[704] Munro, "Textiles, Technology, and Organisation," pp. 183, 211.
[705] Oldland, *London Clothmaking*, p. 62-3.
[706] John R. Oldland, "London's Trade in the Time of Richard III," *The Ricardian*, 24 (2014): p. 1-30, at 16.
[707] Petition Native Weavers of London, 1376, Ancient Petitions, TNA, SC 8/43/2127.

conquered their segment of the market, but expressing their desperation at trends in the clothmaking business in London after the middle of the fourteenth century, which had turned out to be very detrimental to them. The incorporation of a group of exiled immigrant workers, who had fared much better, could have given them access to new sections of the market and have ameliorated their problems with the payment of the farm. For this to have happened, they needed the support of Edward III. Yet the English king, who argued to work for the common profit of his entire realm, continued to ignore the legitimate claims of the native weavers and preferred to court the Flemings.

2. *The Petitions War of 1376-8*

During the second half of the 1370s, a number of changes provided the native cloth workers with a context that must have given them new hope of finding a political solution for their problems. Most importantly, the once solid regime of King Edward III, for four decades a determined sponsor of the guild of Flemish artisans, had all but collapsed. Struggling with ailing health, the monarch no longer had the authority to deal with the growing frustrations within the realm, which erupted dramatically in the so-called Good Parliament of 1376.[708] Secondly, the breakdown of the Truce of Bruges in 1375 and the threat of a French invasion had created an atmosphere in which the presence of substantial numbers of aliens in the kingdom was no longer taken for granted.[709] Finally, since 1371 petitions which promoted the private interests of specific groups or communities had been incorporated more easily into those presented by the Commons in

[708] George Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (Oxford, 1975), p. 100-58; W. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven, 2011), p. 524-76.
[709] Lambert and Ormrod, "Friendly Foreigners," 15-16.

Parliament than had been the case before, thus securing a better chance of receiving a definitive answer.[710]

In 1376 the native weavers of London petitioned the king in Parliament, repeating the claims they had made at the start of the 1350s: whereas his progenitors had granted them a charter that gave their guild alone the right to practice their craft in the city, Edward III had allowed Flemings, Brabanters, and other aliens that had newly come into England to do the same. They therefore asked that the aliens' charter of 1352 be annulled and theirs confirmed or that they be discharged from the annual payments for their fee.[711] Probably no decision had been reached when Edward died in June 1377, so two near-duplicate petitions were submitted to the new king Richard II later in the year.[712] The Flemish weavers reacted and sent a counter-request to the young monarch and his Council, asking for the confirmation of their 1352 charter.[713] The Crown's decision was recorded on the dorse of one of the native cloth workers' petitions and must have disappointed them. Whereas other complaints about the presence of immigrants in the kingdom were discussed at the Bad Parliament of January to March 1377 and a request to expel all French residents was even granted,[714] the bill about the alien weavers found much less support. It was sent into the Chancery, where a special tribunal would summon the Flemings and Brabanters and investigate their 1352 charter.[715] Even though this was not an uncommon procedure,[716] it seems obvious that the Crown was not particularly keen on addressing the criticisms of its economic immigration policy in Parliament. Twice the London weavers had asked the king to restrict the privileges of the

[710] Dodd, *Justice and Grace*, 146.
[711] Petition Native Weavers of London, 1376, Ancient Petitions, TNA, SC 8/43/2127.
[712] Petitions Native Weavers of London, 1377, Ancient Petitions, TNA, SC 8/123/6147; SC 8/143/7128.
[713] Petition Alien Weavers of London, 1377, Ancient Petitions, TNA, SC 8/143/7122.
[714] *PROME*, 6: p. 48-50. See also Lambert and Ormrod, "Friendly Foreigners," p. 15-17.
[715] Petition Native Weavers of London, 1377, Ancient Petitions, TNA, SC 8/123/6147.
[716] For the deferral of petitions outside parliament, see Dodd, *Justice and Grace*, p. 82-5.

immigrant artisans: in 1352 their requests had been side-tracked to the Exchequer, in 1376 to the Chancery. The contrast with the aliens' petition of 1352, which, despite the lack of parliamentary backing, had received the strongest possible royal endorsement and had been granted by letters patent, was telling.

We have no direct documentary evidence as to what happened subsequently, but we do know that the Flemings rallied additional support. Later in 1377 or in 1378, they sent a petition to Richard II's uncle John of Gaunt.[717] They explained how the English cloth workers were trying to have their charter, granted by John's father Edward, withdrawn in the Chancery and they asked for his help. The Flemings must have considered him an obvious champion for their cause. Even though he was excluded from the Regency Council, John of Gaunt held considerable influence in the kingdom during the minority of his nephew.[718] Related to the house of Hainault through his mother, he also cherished close links with the princes of the Low Countries and it was exactly during this period that he hoped to exploit these connections in order to secure a military alliance. Gaunt, too, incurred the anger of the London citizens in a dispute over their liberties, in 1377.[719] According to the author of the Anonimalle Chronicle, the Londoners vented their frustrations about his actions by circulating the highly insulting rumor that the Ghent-born prince was the son of a Flemish butcher rather than of Edward III and "loved Flemings twice as much as Englishmen."[720]

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[717] Petition Alien Weavers of London, 1377-1378, Ancient Petitions TNA, SC 8/102/5061. Petitions in TNA's SC 8 series are undated and dates need to be derived from internal and contextual evidence. Gwilym Dodd, "Parliamentary Petitions? The Origins and Provenance of the 'Ancient Petitions' (SC 8) in the National Archives," in *Medieval Petitions: Grace and Grievance*, eds. W. Mark Ormrod, Gwilym Dodd, and Anthony Musson (York, 2009), p. 12-46, at 15-16. This request refers to the procedure in the Chancery, so should be dated after the native weavers' petitions and before the end of the investigation in March 1380.
[718] Gwilym Dodd, "Richard II and the Fiction of the Majority Rule," in *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Charles Beem (New York, 2008), p. 103-59.
[719] Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (Harlow, 1992), 59-62, 179-85; Pamela Nightingale, "Capitalists, Crafts and Constitutional Change in Late Fourteenth-Century London," *Past and Present* 124 (August 1989): p. 3-35, at 20-2.
[720] Galbraith, *Anonimalle Chronicle*, 104-5.

It may be significant that these allegations were made at the same time as the petition in which the Flemish weavers complained to John about the maneuvers of their London rivals. Had the news about the Flemings' attempt at obtaining Gaunt's collaboration gone public and added to the existing anger towards him in the capital, or did the Flemish textile workers approach him exactly because the conflict had highlighted his links with the Low Countries? Without a more precise dating of the Flemish petition, it is impossible to say.

The petitions war was also fought on the front of political language. Both in their request to Richard II and the one to John of Gaunt, the Flemings cleverly underlined the wider importance of their case by adopting the Crown's own rhetoric of immigration for the common profit.[721] In the earlier petition they asked for a confirmation of their privileges, "so they could use their mystery so well for the profit of the realm as for themselves."[722] In the latter one the very last words were to reassure John that they were only interested in the "profit of the realm."[723] Whereas the notion of common profit was also eagerly embraced by others during this period,[724] the native cloth workers never appealed to the wider interests of the kingdom. Their requests showed more concern for their own material benefit, emphasizing how the rejection of their earlier petitions had resulted in the "great impoverishment of their estate."[725]

In anticipation of a verdict from the Chancery, the English weavers tried to mobilize political action in London. At the Parliament of October 1377, it had been decided that no alien in

[721] The Flemings had already petitioned the mayor of London "for the common profit of the land and of the city and for the saving of their said trade" in 1362. Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 306.
[722] Petition Alien Weavers of London, 1377, Ancient Petitions, TNA, SC 8/143/7122.
[723] Petition Alien Weavers of London, 1377-1378, Ancient Petitions, TNA, SC 8/102/5061.
[724] W. Mark Ormrod, "The Good Parliament of 1376: Commons, Communes and 'Common Profit' in Fourteenth-Century English Politics," in *Comparative Perspectives on History and Historians: Essays in Memory of Bryce Lyon (1920-2007)*, eds. David Nicholas, Bernard S. Bachrach and James M. Murray (Kalamazoo, 2012), 179-82.
[725] Petition Native Weavers of London, 1377, Ancient Petitions, TNA, SC 8/123/6147.

England should run a hostel and, in a further attempt to curb the mobility of laborers after the Black Death, a stricter control of the wages earned by servants was imposed.[726] The native cloth workers now asked the London Common Council to entrust them with the supervision of the earnings of immigrant journeymen in the cloth industry and to make sure that no alien weavers were hostel keepers. In language that is more explicit than that used earlier and betrays growing frustration, they left little doubt who the real targets of their actions were: "the foreigners and strangers being for the most part exiled from their own country as notorious malefactors, and unwilling to place themselves under the rule of the free weavers." The Common Council made clear to the weavers that no changes could be made until malpractices were actually observed.[727] Dominated by the mercantile mysteries, which had no interest in restricting competition among the city's producers,[728] the assembly's support for the native weavers' particular concerns was, obviously, limited.

There are indications that, also during this period, the native cloth workers' political failures resulted in physical aggression against their Flemish colleagues. On 11 April 1377, Katherine, the English wife of the Flemish weaver Gilbert Strynger, sued London weaver Richard Bone in the King's Bench for the murder of her husband. Bone was summoned to appear in person on the following octave of St Martin (November 1377). He did not show up and after failing to do so twice more, he was outlawed.[729] On 19 April 1379, however, Bone bought a royal pardon for the murder and had his penalty cancelled. Although the writ delivered by the Privy Seal Office, which was usually based on the supplicant's petition, specified that Strynger was a Fleming, the

[726] *PROME*, 6: p. 36-7, 38.
[727] *Letter Books H*, p. 94.
[728] Nightingale, "Capitalists, Crafts and Constitutional Change," p. 17-24.
[729] Verdict King's Bench, 1378, TNA, KB 27/469, m. 50.

entry on the King's Bench plea rolls did not do so.[730] In the context of the rivalries between the two groups of workers, Bone found it expedient to emphasize his victim's origins in order to obtain mercy. On 23 June 1381, two years later and only nine days after the massacre of the Flemings, the same Richard Bone, together with several other London weavers, would acquire another pardon, this time for his participation in the Peasants' Revolt.[731]

On 4 March 1380, fourteen months before the rebellion, the outcome of the Chancery investigation was enacted on the patent rolls. The objections of the native cloth workers were rejected once more and the privileges of the Flemish weavers, including the right to work outside the Londoners' guild, were confirmed.[732] An agreement between the two groups about the payment of the farm and the supervision of the looms was made a few days later, but, again, was largely ignored. Disputes would continue in subsequent years and throughout much of the fifteenth century.[733] Only in 1497 did London's native and alien weavers come to a "final peace" and unite in one guild.[734]

[730] Pardon Richard Bone, 23 June 1381, TNA, C 81/460/430. See also *CPR, 1377-81*, p. 340.
[731] *CPR, 1385-9*, 280. See also John L. Leland, "Aliens in the Pardons of Richard II," in *Fourteenth Century England: Volume 4*, ed. J.S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 136-45, at 140-1.
[732] *CPR, 1377-81*, p. 452.
[733] In 1406, for example, the guild of native cloth workers complained again that the Flemish weavers did not pay their farm. *PROME*, 8: p. 399-400.
[734] Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, p. 58-60.

3. *The Rebels and the Victims*

However, Andrew Prescott had already turned the attention to the fact that it was not only the weavers who were disgruntled by the Flemish presence. Indeed, other members of the textile sector were heavily involved in the rebellion.[735] In the indictments, there were numerous tailors, fullers, dyers and their apprentices indicted together with the London weavers. Of those whose occupations were stated in the indictments, there were 12 weavers, 11 tailors, 6 dyers and 8 fullers.[736] As can be seen, the number of weavers was not drastically higher than the others from the clothing sector. Their social status was quite mixed, since they were not only the apprentices, or just poor members of the craft. An indicted weaver, William Pygas who participated in the revolt and was included in the mayor's amnesty in 1387, became a bailiff of the guild of English weavers in 1391.[737] Thomas Pynnok was elected bailiff of English weavers in 1378 and in 1387.[738] However, some other indicted rebels were recently freed apprentices. John Bateman was freed 4 years earlier by the master weaver Richard Bolle.[739] For some, it was specifically stated in the indictments that they were apprentices, as it was for Thomas March a servant of a dyer Henry Greenecobbe.[740] Among the fullers, some of those who were involved were quite prominent as well. Richard Skeet was for example elected bailiff of the guild of fullers just after the revolt.[741] Some of them were among the 36 best men of the mystery of fullers who presented their complaints to the aldermen of London against the use of urine, their fulling mills and the exercise of craft by

[735] Prescott, Judicial Records, p. 320-21.
[736] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 289; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, p. 113
[737] *Letter Books H*, p. 315, 369.
[738] *Letter Books H*, p. 97, 337.
[739] LMA MS 9171/1 fol. 60.
[740] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 289.
[741] *Letter Books H*, p. 171.

the non-citizens.[742] To demonstrate that the fullers who were involved in the rebellion were not from the lowest ranks of the craft, we must take a look at those indicted and the amounts of cloth they brought to the aulnager in the years that just preceded the revolt. All 8 indicted fullers (Simon Gerard, William Gatesby, John Trigg, Richard Skeet, William Plomer, William Caux, John Bentele, Thomas Crawe) appear in the particulars of the aulnage accounts 1374-77 bringing some considerable quantities of broadcloth.[743] Certainly, they did not make as much as Flemish weavers for selling rays as we will see in chapter 6, but this still shows that the cloth-workers of London involved in the rebellion were not from the poorest ranks.

Another point to make is to say that the English clothworkers seemed to have had quite good relationships amongst themselves, which would make it easier to organize and turn against the Flemings. For example, William Waryn, webbe, left the guardianship of his daughter Cecilia to Peter Spersholte, fuller after his death in 1375.[744] The evidence from the wills of London cloth-workers shows that they were probably in friendly relationships amongst themselves. Fullers, tailors, weavers, dyers bequeathed goods to one another as well as they had each other for executors. Thus, William Beltone, who was a bailiff of the native weavers on few occasions had for executor Thomas Pynnok, who was indicted for his involvement in the revolt of 1381.[745] A prominent fuller, John Olescombe, had for executor a dyer, Richard Bromme.[746] While Richard Bolle, webbe had William Stoket, a fuller, for his executor.[747] We have seen in the testamentary evidence left by the Flemings that they kept friendly relationships first with the Flemings from the

[742] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 32-48.
[743] TNA E 101/340/ 22; E 101/340/23.
[744] *Letter Books H*, p. 5.
[745] LMA MS 9171/1 fol. 203v.
[746] LMA MS 9171/1 fol. 201v.
[747] LMA MS 9171/1 fol. 60r.

same occupational sector then with their fellow compatriots, while the English cloth-workers seem to have had friendly relationships based on the business networks within the same occupation and then in the occupational sector. Nevertheless, all of this indicates that it wasn't only the weavers who acted against the Flemings, but the whole textile sector and given their relationships it was probably very easy to plot together and turn against the 'common enemy'.

Another point to make would be to see the places where the English cloth-workers lived compared to the Flemings. Whether it was in the indictments for the involvement in the revolt, indirectly from the cases in the Letter Books or Memoranda Rolls, or even the parish of burial in the wills, whenever the place of residence is stated for the native cloth-workers, we realize that they had not lived so far from the Flemish immigrants. Those who were indicted were listed by the Ward where they lived, therefore we know that the native cloth-workers lived in Langbourn, Walbrook, Dowgate, Cordwainer Street, Queenhithe, and Cripplegate Ward.[748] These neighborhoods are actually the same where the Flemings lived as evidenced in their wills and other sources when their place of residence is mentioned. However, when we take a look at the native cloth-workers' wills and parishes (Appendix 4) where they wanted to be buried, we notice straight away that they lived in same Wards and probably even the same streets as the Flemings, but did not hold their congregations in the same churches. We have seen earlier that the biggest concentration of Flemish cloth-workers was in the parishes St Swithin, St Nicholas Acon, St Lawrence Pountney, St Andrew Hubbart, while the native cloth-workers lived in parishes St Mary Woolnoth, St Mary Abchurch, St Martin Orgar, St Margaret Pattens, and St Mary Fenchurch (Map 6). If we take a look at the map, it is striking how they lived close to each other, probably were even neighbours, but had not congregated at the same churches. Given the rivalry presented above in the petitions, it seems that

[748] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 289.

this division was made deliberately. For the weavers, as they had two separate guilds, they probably did not want to share the same fraternities. We have seen that the Flemings had the fraternity of *Cortrike* in St Martin Vintry church[749], which finally explains that the Flemish weavers actually held congregations there and that this was the reason why they found themselves over there during the revolt. There might have been similar fraternities at St Swithin's church and St Lawrence Pountney, however, no bequest to such fraternity had unfortunately been mentioned in any will from the Flemings who lived in these parishes. The native cloth-workers' wills make mention of the fraternities of Blessed Mary at Crutched Friars[750], and the one of brewers at the All Saints by the London Wall.[751] However, one bequest of the English weaver is particularly interesting. In 1390, certain weaver, Thomas Reymond, bequeathed 40d to the fraternity of ascension of Blessed Mary in St Lawrence Pountney, in order to start the foundation for the weavers in the same parish, his money being used for the light.[752] Thomas Reymond was not a parishioner of St Lawrence Pountney, he lived in the parish of St Mary Ludgate, and specifically left a bequest to the fraternity of weavers where Flemings used to hire their apprentices. This might also be the evidence of native weavers wanting to get rid of the alien influence in one of their (aliens') most important parishes. Nevertheless, all the presented evidence above about the places of residence shows that during the Peasants' Revolt, the native cloth-workers certainly knew how and where to find the Flemings.

[749] See Chapter 3 and the bequest in the will of Peter Smyth de Flandre. Peter Smyth was a banished weaver from Bruges and this testament will be a part of a separate study.
[750] LMA MS 9171/1 fol. 206r.
[751] William Dodder, St. Botolph Bishopsgate, 1386 LMA MS 9171/1 fol° 140v.
[752] LMA MS 9171 fol. 216r.

Map 6: Candlewick Ward with surrounding parishes

The only direct evidence about the involvement of clothworkers of London killing the Flemings comes from the indictments that were recorded in the county of Essex. Indeed, John Michel from Theydon Garnon, Matthew Moleshale from Moleshill, John Shpherd from Havering atte Boure, together with a Londoner Walter Potenhale were indicted for killings of divers lieges of the king and of Flemings in the English capital.[753] Walter Potenhale was a woadmonger, according to the Letter Books of London[754], and it seems that he was one of the local insurgents who joined with those who entered London from the county of Essex. As can be seen, Walter Potenhale was not a weaver, but still was involved in the clothing sector, which goes hand in hand with the argument above, that the rebels who resented the Flemings were not only confined to weavers, but more likely to the whole clothing sector.

[753] TNA KB 166/2, m.1.
[754] *Letter-Books G*, p. 278.

Apart from the local clothworkers, the rebels from Kent that stormed the English capital also targeted Flemings. Roger Boye from Ickham in Kent was accused that he murdered three Flemings on 14 June 1381 in London.[755] Outside the London wall, it has been documented that 7 Flemings were murdered as well at Clerkenwell by one Richard Gardiner from Holborn.[756] Their names are ignored as well as their occupations, therefore we can only guess who these Flemings were. However, there is some evidence to support the argument that the immigrant craftsmen from the Low Countries settled in London surroundings (Middlesex). In 1377, Giles Webbe, Flemyng was indicted together with Thomas Brewer from St John's street in Middlesex for trespass and extortion.[757] Another case suggesting that the area around Clerkenwell was inhabited by Flemish textile workers. Rodney Hilton suggested that these Flemings that appear in the poll tax returns might have been merchants since they were all employers and appear with their servants. He refers then to Beardwood's conclusions that in 1365-66 particulars of the customs accounts for wool, 6 merchants could have been identified as Flemings.[758] However, we will see later that on that account and in Great Yarmouth, Flemish weavers were involved in wool exports and, thus, those in the poll taxes, are more likely to have been craftsmen as well.

We have seen above that the rebels destroyed records in several places in order to in a way suppress the precedents of their obligations that the Lords used to increase their own rights. The same logic

[755] TNA KB 9/43, m.19; Check as well: Herbert Eiden, *'In der Knechtschaft werdet ihr verharren…': Ursachen und Verlauf des englischen Bauernaufstandes von 1381*, Trier 1995, p. 249n.
[756] Réville, *Le soulèvement*, p. 203.
[757] TNA KB 27/468 m. 13d rex.
[758] Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free*, p. 197; For the poll tax return: TNA, E 179/141/35; Actually, both Sylvia Thrupp and Hilton mistakenly thought that these membranes were the fragments of the poll tax return for 1377. However, thanks to the research of Jim Bolton (1995) and Mark Ormrod's project on the England's Immigrants 1350-1550, I was able to compare this document with the names from the database and conclude that it is rather a fragment of alien subsidy returns from the fifteenth century than the poll tax return of 1377.

might be observed with the Flemings. In the petitions cited above, they called on their privileges on numerous occasions. If the Londoners could, they might have destroyed it in the same manner. Also, if we summarize all the privileges the Flemings obtained from 1337 to 1364, they were able to leave, enter and move around freely, to trade their goods, not be part of a native guild and most of all, they were not liable to pay any sums of money by reason of such guild.[759] Some of the privileges like to move freely go directly against the Statute of Labourers, which the poorer communities in England were obliged to follow. Trading freely and not paying any taxes was also something that the natives were quite controlled. However, in reality, we have seen that the Flemings were being fined for forestalling and other local infractions in Colchester and Great Yarmouth, not to mention the difficulties to become a citizen, therefore, most of these privileges that the Flemings had been granted, were for the most part ignored by the local authorities. However, the fact that the Flemings were not as privileged as it seems in the records, was probably very hard to explain to the mob. Misinterpretation and simplifying of facts and present different reality is very common in the populist groups, even nowadays in the United Kingdom, as evidenced with the campaign to leave the European Union, at the time while this work is being written. With the privilege of the Flemings not being obliged to pay 20 marks to the King, the rebels were probably convinced that the Flemings were not obliged to pay the poll tax as well. In this sense, as we have seen that the Flemings stuck to themselves, was not helping. Lack of friendly communication between the two groups had probably made the things even worse.

[759] See supra.

4. *Flemings and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 in Colchester and Great Yarmouth*

When it comes to Colchester, Great Yarmouth and East Anglia in general, the rebels found a scapegoat in Flemings as well. The reasons to kill the Flemings might have been of more localized nature and might have not concerned the quarrels between the textile workers as they did in London, but some similarities might be observed. Moreover, it is all the more difficult to establish the main reasons to turn against the Flemings in these areas, as the evidence is even more fragmentary than for London. This part will be based on the surviving indictments for these areas and as Andrew Prescott argued '*The indictments do sometimes stress the importance of particular themes in the revolt noted by the chroniclers. They emphasize, for example, that the slaughter of Flemings was not confined to London.*'[760] Nevertheless, even with the lack of sources for the murdered Flemings in these areas, both Reville and Walsingham argued that there was no county where the participants were so numerous, so simultaneous and where the revolt was so spread as it was in Norfolk.[761]

The revolt in Norfolk started on 14 June in Thetford, when the rebels threatened the mayor and other residents by fire if they don't pay them.[762] The revolt spread in the days that followed to Lynn, Norwich and other towns in the county to attain around 150 localities that are mentioned in the sources that were touched by the general insurrection.[763] What distinguished the county of Norfolk from other parts of England was that the main goal of the rebels during the first days of insurrection was theft.[764] No murders or ransacking happened on the West part of the county, the

[760] Prescott, Judicial Records, p. 117.
[761] Réville, *Le Soulèvement*, p. 85.
[762] Ibid., p. 84.
[763] Ibid., p. 85.
[764] Ibid., p. 86; For the events in Norfolk during the revolt see also: Herbert Eiden, 'Joint Action Against the 'Bad' Lordship: The Peasants' Revolt in Essex and Norfolk', *History*, 83:267, 1998, pp. 5-30.

rebels were taking both money and goods from the people they considered wealthy under threat of murder. This situation changed when the mob reached Lynn and joined with the local rebels that had already started pillages. When the revolt started in Lynn, on 17 June 1381, there were around 30 rebels, all of them craftsmen. Their main concern of the local rebels in Lynn was to find the traitors. For them, the Flemings were apparently the traitors as well. Indeed, John Spanye, cordwainer, Thomas Colyn, tailor, John Whetweng, webster, Henry Cornish, glover, Walter Prat glover, and John Pynchebeck, tailor all of them from Lynn were indicted for the murder of Hankyn Flemyng.[765] The same group of craftsmen led by John Spanye, cordwainer, started moving the day after towards a village near Lynn called Snettisham. They were indicted for inciting people to start a revolt against the King and for killing and decapitating certain Flemings.[766] As in London, we can notice that the rebels from urban areas were mostly craftsmen. Herbert Eiden argued that the number of participants from the clothing sector in Norfolk was significantly high and managed to identify 34 of them.[767] What is interesting here is that this group from Lynn, specifically targeted the Flemings both in Lynn and in Snettisham. Moreover, from their occupations one can notice as well that they were in the same crafts where the immigrants from the Low Countries were the most numerous, cordwainers, tailors, and weavers. Therefore, under the excuse of looking for traitors, they might have just wanted to get rid of competition.

On 19 June 1381, the insurrection reached Great Yarmouth as well. From the available indictments and historiography, it seems that there were no rebels from the town itself. Great Yarmouth was attacked by two groups of rebels from the surrounding villages in Norfolk and the neighboring

[765] TNA KB 9 166/1 m. 73.
[766] TNA KB 9/166/1 m. 67: 'ignotis et incitavit homines dicte ville ad surgendum contra pacem domini Regis ad querendum homines patrie de Flaundres ad eos occidendos et decapitandos.'
[767] Herbert Eiden, 'Joint Action Against the 'Bad' Lordship: The Peasants' Revolt in Essex and Norfolk', *History*, 83:267, 1998, p. 28

county of Suffolk.[768] Both Prescott and Reville argued that Great Yarmouth and its townsmen suffered a lot from the revolt, since the rebels were only interested in destroying the privileges of this town.

Indeed, in 1379, in the Parliament of Gloucester Great Yarmouth got trading privileges that was resented by the surrounding towns. The port town got the charter which stipulated that no-one, apart the people of Great Yarmouth, could buy or sell goods in seven places surrounding it. Moreover, it granted them jurisdiction over the port at Kirkley Road in Suffolk and the control of the sale of herring.[769] Basically, the charter gave to the burgesses of Great Yarmouth the monopoly over the trade in its surrounding area, touching both the villages in East Norfolk and the neighboring Suffolk. Therefore, it seems not so strange that this town was attacked by two groups of rebels, one coming from Norfolk and the other from Suffolk.

The town was penetrated on Tuesday, 18 June 1381, by the group from Suffolk, led by a knight Roger Bacon. First and the foremost rebels' demand to the Great Yarmouth officials was to provide the aforementioned charter of privileges. Naturally, they tore it into pieces, so that no-one can claim these monopolistic privileges again.[770] By that time, the troupes of Roger Bacon were joined by those led by Geoffrey Lister, an infamous dyer and leading figure of the revolt in Norfolk.[771] They went to the houses of the customs collectors Hugh Fastolf and William Elys took the rolls of the customs accounts that they had on them, as well as 600 pounds.[772]

[768] Reville, *Le Soulèvement,* p. 109.
[769] *Rotuli Parliamentorum III,* p. 94-95; Reville, *Le soulèvement,* p. 109; Prescott, Judicial Records, p. 99.
[770] Reville, *Le soulèvement,* p. 109-110; Prescott, Judicial Records, p. 99.
[771] On Lister see Reville, *Le soulèvement,* p. 100-2.
[772] Reville, *Le soulèvement,* p. 111; Prescott, Judicial Records, p. 99.

The indictments also report that as in London, the rebels broke into a local gaol and released the captives. Actually, at the time when they broke into a Great Yarmouth prison, there were four inmates, Copin Sele de Cirice (Zieriksee), John Rosendale, Copin Isang and John Cook de Coventry, or three Flemings and one native. The indictment reads that under the orders of Geoffrey Lister, the group beheaded the three aforementioned Flemings and let John Cook go free.[773] Obviously, the Flemings were specifically targeted here as well. This is the first indictment, where the exact names of the murdered Flemings are reported. Andrew Prescott argued that the execution of three prisoners was carefully reported, since the town was liable for any escapes from the prison due to negligence.[774] In our case, it provides us with names that we can trace in the court rolls of Great Yarmouth and give some background to the murdered Flemings during the revolt.

The three Flemings in question are unfortunately not the most representative residents of Great Yarmouth to make any convincing conclusions about the murdered Flemings in 1381. They appear only few times in the court rolls of Great Yarmouth before the 1381. The three of them appeared in February 1380 on the same session of the petty pleas in trespass cases accusing the same group of people - William Bever, John Pitcherew, John Deyerop and Jacob Johneson de Dordrecht.[775] The cases were never continued on later sessions, suggesting that they were settled outside the court. The only further information about these three individuals is that Copin Sele was from Zieriksee, Copin Ysang from Dordrecht and John Rosendale from Brabant. Few indications

[773] TNA KB 9/166/1 m. 83; 'Predicti Rogerus Bacoun, Galfredus Lyster, et socii sui, predicti vi et armis contra pacem dominum Rege, die mercuris proximo ante festum Sancti Johannis Baptisti anno supradicto, gaolam domini regis in dicta Jernemouth felonice fregerunt et prisones, videlicet Copyn Sele de Cirice, Copyn Ysang, Johannem Rosendale, extraverunt et decapitaverunt et Johannem Cook de Coventry liberaverunt.' This account was reported on few indictments; TNA KB 9/166/1 m. 88; TNA KB 145/3/6/1; Also in Reville, *Le soulèvement*, p. 110n, there is a transcript of the last document, the only thing is that Reville made a minor mistake and transcribed mercuris (Wednesday) as martis (Tuesday).
[774] Prescott, Judicial Records, p. 99.
[775] NRO Y /C 4/ 91, m. 4.

suggest that they might have been involved in the cloth industry. On 29 December 1378 on the boat of Henry Claissone from Vlarding, Copin Ysang exported 5 ells of broad cloth.[776] Moreover, on the same boat, William Bever, that all three victims accused of trespass a bit than a year later, exported 3 ½ sacks of wool.[777] The evidence here suggests that the victims were probably residents of Great Yarmouth, not only that they stayed long enough to get indicted and captured to be imprisoned, they were already present and active in trade two years before the revolt. Moreover, William Bever (Fleming himself) was a wool dealer and certainly a resident of Great Yarmouth. Apart the customs accounts where he appears as wool merchant, he appears in the town's records since 1370 in various cases where he is involved with other Flemish textile workers.[778]

One day later, on Wednesday 19 June, another indictment from Great Yarmouth reports that three more Flemings were murdered. Indeed, one John Sconder from Catfield and his fellows beheaded three men of Flanders, whose names were unfortunately not reported, under the orders of Geoffrey Listere.[779] Since their names remain unknown, one can suspect that these might have been the same three as those mentioned above that were freed from prison and subsequently decapitated. Moreover, the incident with prison break happened on Wednesday as did this one where John Sconder was the main culprit. However, in his analysis of judicial records, Andrew Prescott noted that the indictments and testimonies in Great Yarmouth corresponded very closely to each other, suggesting the cooperation in their preparation.[780] Therefore, it seems unlikely that such mistake was made in the indictments. Nevertheless, both these accounts shed light that Flemings were

[776] Smit, *Bronnen*, doc. 576, p. 319.
[777] Ibid.
[778] Check for example: NRO Y /C 4/ 84 m. 4.
[779] TNA, KB 9/166/1 m. 97; See also Reville, *Le soulèvement,* p. 111.
[780] Prescott, Judicial Records, p. 99.

indeed murdered in Great Yarmouth and apparently considered by the mob as those with more privileges and traitors.

When it comes to Essex, the rebels had similar goals as in the county of Norfolk, just their grievances had been a little bit more turned against the symbols of royal authority and the King himself. A line found in two indictments by Herbert Eiden demonstrates well the aforementioned ideology of the rebels in Essex. Indeed, men had sworn 'to destroy divers lieges of the King and his common laws and lordship… and to have no other law in England but those they themselves made to be ordained'.[781]

The revolt in Essex started at the end of May in Brentwood and spread rapidly to Coggeshall, Chelmsford and other places in the county. Almost everywhere in Essex that the insurrection took place, the records were destroyed, and king's officials robed or killed. As taking control of Essex by the rebels happened rapidly, one group of rebels marched on London and took part in the incidents there.[782] Apart from destruction of manorial and fiscal records, as in London and Norfolk, Flemish community was targeted in Essex as well. According to the confession of two insurgents, on 16 June 1381, one John Thechere beheaded one Fleming at Maningtree, under the orders of John Hardyng.[783] Also, John Preme, Felmyng, webbe, was beheaded by the mob at Maldon.[784] This case is interesting, because it is the only one so far where the Flemish victim is named and where it is stated that he was a weaver. It seems that Flemish textile workers immigrating to Essex in the second half of the fourteenth century were not only confined to Colchester. For example, in 1374,

[781] Quoted in: Eiden, Peasants' Revolt Essex and Norfolk, p. 11.
[782] Eiden, 'Peasants' Revolt', p. 12-13.
[783] Reville, *Le soulèvement,* p. 216; Registred also in TNA, KB 27/485 rex, m. 5.
[784] TNA, KB 145/3/6/1.

Peter le Walshe, Flemyng, webbe was indicted for murder at Castle Hedingham.[785] However, the cases at Manningtree and Maldon suggest that they were resented by the rebels at the same level as they were in London or in Norfolk. Moreover, in his analysis of the occupational structure of the rebels in Essex, Herbert Eiden noted that one of the characteristics was the high proportion of rebels working in the clothing sector.[786] Therefore, it is not surprising that the Flemings were targeted in Essex as well.

When it comes to Colchester, it was not touched by the rebellion as hard as the rest of the county, but some disturbances were documented. The town was apparently a place of gathering for the rebels from the surrounding villages, who, joined with the insurgents from Colchester left for London on 13 June 1381.[787] Those who stayed in Colchester attacked the moot hall and St John's abbey on 16 June 1381.[788] The main goal of this attack was to find the borough records in order to destroy them, but it seems that they haven't managed to do so. However, the borough court sessions in Colchester had not been held for five weeks after the rebellion.[789] These disturbances were actually recorded in the hundred session of the borough court in October 1381. John Forde of Brightlingsea, William Pakke, Henry Henkyn and John Broke, by force and violence entered the Abbey of St John's and carried off its rolls and muniments.[790] On the next membrane, William ate Appelton was charged with having on Sunday, 16 June 1381, together with others, entered the hall of the commonalty and the treasury and threatened to burn the rolls and muniments which were in the treasury, whereby they were removed, he denied the charge, but was found guilty by

[785] TNA, JUST 2/35/5 m. 3.
[786] Eiden, 'Peasants' Revolt', p. 26.
[787] Victoria County History, Essex, volume 9, p. 22.
[788] Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 52, 56.
[789] Ibid.
[790] Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 52; ERO D/B 5 CR 21, m. 1d.

the jury and sent to prison.[791] Among these accused men, William Appelton and William Pakke were quite prominent textile workers. The former was a weaver and the latter was a fuller, and they appeared in the borough court for various litigation involving the trade in cloth.[792] What is also interesting is that these two textile workers never had any contact with Flemings in the borough court, suggesting as well a division in the trade during the 1370s. If we take a look at the amount of cloth they sold in the borough court and in general their involvement in the trade, we can conclude that in Colchester, as in London and other places, it was not only the poorest ranks of the society that were involved in the rebellion.

Other disturbances in Colchester were actually directed against the Flemings. In 1382, A Colcestrian, Adam Michel was excluded from general amnesty by the parliament as being one of those who murdered the Flemings during the time of troubles in Colchester between end of May and November 1381.[793] This document implies that he was probably indicted straight away after the revolt and that his guilt was indeed proven. It was only in 1385 that he was granted pardon by king Richard II for the murders of Flemings.[794] The letters patent actually specify that he was one of the ringleaders of the revolt in Essex and that this was the reason he was excluded from general amnesty in 1382. The borough court of Colchester dealt as well with the disturbances of the revolt and one case supports the fact that Adam Michael was a ringleader. Certain Walter Baker was charged for the attack on Laurence Cobeler at le Southsherde, in his defense, he said that he was instigated by Adam Michael and John Wright, a weaver.[795] The aforementioned Walter Baker was

[791] Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 52, 56; ERO D/B 5 CR 21, m. 4.
[792] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 43, 183; Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 56, 72.
[793] TNA, KB 27/502 rex, m. 4d.
[794] *CPR 1381-1385*, p. 551.
[795] Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 66; In cases earlier, it is stated that John Wright was a weaver: Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 10.

also involved in the textile industry, presumably he was a weaver or tailor.[796] As other ringleaders from Norfolk, such as Geoffrey Lister or John Spanye, who specifically targeted Flemings in Lynn, Great Yarmouth and Snettisham, we can notice that Adam Michel as one of the main instigators in Colchester was also doing the same and that the immigrants represented the important issue on the agenda of the rebels.

Adam Michel from Colchester was one of the rebels who was a fairly prominent person before the revolt. This goes hand in hand with Reville's, Hilton's, Prescott's and Eiden's conclusions, that the rebels were far from being '*des vagabonds ou des va-nu-pieds*' poor peasants.[797] Adam entered into the franchise of Colchester in 1360.[798] Even though he appeared in the borough court for 14 times, his occupation was never stated. Most of the times he appeared as a pledge to various litigants, which was reserved for people with higher status in the town. Three times, he was in cases for debt and once he made a statement as one of the officials of the court. He acted as 'sergeant in the South Ward' for the borough court in 1365, which was probably the similar position as the capital pledge in Great Yarmouth leet court.[799] He also paid a poll tax with his wife, and his three servants.[800] A person who could afford to hire three servants in the second half of the fourteenth century was certainly not a hungry peasant, whose job was taken by the immigrants. He was as well in direct contact with the immigrants from the Low Countries before the revolt. He acted as a pledge in a trespass case between Henry Duale and John Bailly, Fleming, and was also accused of debt by William de Gaunt in respect of a sale of horse.[801] As can be seen, Adam had

[796] Walter Baker appears on few occasions in cases where he sold cloth. Check: Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 183.
[797] Reville, *Le soulèvement,* p. 122-23.
[798] Benham, *The Oath Book*, p. 63.
[799] Benham, *Court Rolls II*, p. 167
[800] Fenwick, *Poll Taxes 1*, p. 201.
[801] Benham, *Court Rolls II*, p. 167,

business contacts with Flemings prior to 1381, but something in that seems to have triggered the resentment which escalated during the revolt.

Conclusions of the chapter

Overall, there are reports that some 50 Flemings were murdered by the rebels in London, Norfolk and Essex. The names were reported for only four of the victims, while the names of other victims stayed 'men or frows of Flanders'. Those whose names were registered, we know that they were involved in the clothing industry, which goes hand in hand with the most widespread hypothesis; that the Flemish victims were probably for the most part the weavers who had settled in England during the reign of Edward III. I would go and confirm this argument, as we were able to see in previous chapters that most of the Flemish immigrants that settled in England in the second half of the fourteenth century were indeed weavers. However, even though that there is proof that one of the victims in Essex was a Flemish weaver, I would add that the Flemish victims were probably for the most part involved in the clothing industry and confined only to weavers. We have seen that the occupational structure of the rebels from urban areas and their surroundings was from clothing industry. Also the Flemish immigrants were not only weavers, though they were the most numerous among them, the presence of fullers, dyers and tailors was not negligible. Another interesting point to make would be about the places where the killings of Flemings happened. Apart from Colchester and the brothel in Southwark, all other places (Great Yarmouth, Lynn in Norfolk, Manningtree, Maldon in Essex, as well as Vintry in London) represented the points of entry for immigrants from the Low Countries. It looks like as if the rebels wanted to make a symbolic claim. I want in no way to argue that this sort of ideology was on the rebels' agenda, but it is striking how the reports of decapitating of Flemings place these incidents exactly where they

would probably have the first touch with England before settling there. As if the rebels wanted to send a message to new arrivals ‘this is what is waiting for you, if you come here’.

Chapter 5: Economic activities of the immigrants from the Low Countries Wool and Woollen cloth production and Trade

Introduction

In previous chapters we have seen that most of the immigrants from the Low Countries were involved in cloth production and trade, but now we will see what they actually did once they settled in England. Therefore, I will firstly explore the wealth and involvement in the textile industry of the Flemish exiles in their home county during the 1340s. Secondly, I will show their role in the most important trade in England during the middle ages – the wool trade. And finally, I will deal with the types of cloth they produced for domestic and international market and how their skills contributed to the economic development of fourteenth century England.

1. Flemings and their activities before banishment

To better understand the economic implication of immigrants in the English cloth industry, we first need to explain the organization of the trade and the immigrants' involvement on the other side of the Channel in the first half of the fourteenth century. We have seen that some of the exiles held important positions within the city governments in Ghent and Bruges during the 1340s.[802] However, it is also important to see their potential in terms of capital as well as the quantities and types of cloth they produced and sold prior to their arrival in England.

The guilds in Bruges and Ghent were vertically organized structures and they consisted of members that were rich, middling and poor. At the top of the textile guilds chain were the

[802] Chapters 1 and 2.

weaver-entrepreneurs; the wealthiest members who created the so-called 'guild elite'.[803] They were able to buy large quantities of wool and then subcontract the production of cloth to other fellow guild members, which they would then sell to foreign merchants. Basically, these weaver-drapers controlled the whole cloth production and marketing process. The guild-elite members (of course, not only from the textile guilds, but from other guilds as well), were usually chosen as the deans of their respective guilds or the city aldermen. These positions with political connections gave them lucrative opportunities such as obtaining contracts to supply cloth on a yearly basis for the city governments of Bruges and Ghent. Although fragmentarily, we are able to trace the positions some of the Flemish exiles held before their banishment. It is interesting that both fullers and weavers held important positions either within the guilds or in the city government. (Table 5.1)

Table 5.1: Positions held by the exiles before their arrival to England

Year	Exile (occupation)	Position held
1343	John de Cranburgh (weaver)	City captain Bruges
1343	Lievin Fisker (weaver)	Alderman Ghent
1345	Giles Ripegarst (weaver)[804]	City captain Ghent
1347	Baldwyn Wymes (fuller)	Vinder guild of fullers Bruges
1347	John van Langheford (fuller)	Vinder guild of fullers Bruges
1347	John Balling (fuller)	Vinder huild of fullers Bruges
1347	Lamsin de Vos (weaver)	Dean of the weavers Bruges
1348	Lievin Godhalse (weaver)	Alderman Ghent

It is also worth noting that it was not only those who held important positions settle only in London, but in Colchester and Great Yarmouth as well.

Throughout the fourteenth century, the city accounts of Ghent and Bruges recorded expenses related to purchases of cloth as part of regular compensation for city officeholders

[803] Hutton, *Women Ghent*, p. 28-29; Boone, *Geld en Macht*, p. 23-120; Murray, *Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 285.
[804] Giles Ripegarst was also a bailiff of the guild of Flemish weavers in London. Check chaper 2.

and employees.[805] It was purchased regularly, twice a year, for Easter and on the feast of St. Bavo in Bruges and for the feast of Tournai and regular yearly purchases of clothes for officeholders in Ghent. These accounts are probably the best sources to establish the types, geographical origin and sellers of the cloth as well as the development of fashion tastes in fourteenth century Flanders. Murray established that from 1331 until 1381 Bruges cloth dominated the purchases of that city together with cloth from Ghent, East Flemish cities and from Brabant in particular.[806] While in Ghent the most dominant were rays, the kind of cloth that Ghent weavers specialized in and were known for on the international markets of the period.

The Flemish exiles, appearing in English sources after 1351, are of course amongst prominent suppliers of cloths and linings to the city governments of Ghent and Bruges during the 1340s. Again, the most numerous suppliers are those who decided to settle in London after the banishment. Thus, Peter van Bassevelde, Clais Scotelare, Lamsin de Vos, John Were and Lamsin Yperlinc almost regularly supplied cloths and fabric for linings to the city of Bruges from 1342 until 1350.[807] While the people who supplied cloth in Bruges before the banishment and settled in Great Yarmouth were weavers John van der Cappelle, John Losekin and Peter Sceepstale (table 5.1). No exile in Colchester had supplied any of the two city governments with cloths before the banishment.

[805] Murray, *Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 289.
[806] *Ibid*., see table 7 on p. 291.
[807] All five of them settled in London after the exile, check table in chapter 2 p. for their names and references.

Figure 5.1: Names of Flemish exiles that appear in the English sources and types of cloth they supplied to the city authorities of Bruges in the years preceding the exile 1341-1351

Exile	Types of cloth supplied to the city government
Clais Scotelare	Yminghen, linings
Peter van Bassevelde	linings
John Were	linings
John van der Cappelle	Mixed cloths, linings
John Losekin	Aerzidine cloths
Peter Sceepstale	linings
Lamsin Yperlinc	linings
John van Coukelare	linings
Peter van de Moor	linings
John Veltacker Lamsin de Vos François van Artevelde John van Ypre Clais Sleepstaf	linings blue cloths linings linings linings

Source : SAB Stadsrekeningen 1341-1351

Figure 5.2: Names of Flemish exiles that appear in the English sources and types of cloth they supplied to the city authorities of Ghent in the years preceding the exile 1341-1351

Exile	Types of cloth supplied to the city government
John van Everyngham	Illigeable
Lievin Godhalse	Rays
John Jonkere	Rays
John van Marlebeke	Rays

Source : Stadsrekeningen Gent 1340-1349

The first noticeable thing is that, even though the evidence from Ghent is fragmentary and that we can only find 4 exiles that supplied cloths in the years before banishment, Flemish weavers from Ghent produced the same types of cloth as in London, the rays. As we will see later, exiles from Ghent that settled in London invariably brought vast amounts of rayed cloth to the aulnager.[808] Be it for Ghent or Bruges, all those in the tables who feature in the tables and supplied cloths to the city were well connected people, who held high positions in the same years in both city government and within their own guilds. For example, in the yearJohn van Coukelare supplied linings for the St Bavo feast that amounted to 3lb Groot, he was also a burgomaster of Bruges.[809] Also Lamsin de Vos, in 1347, who was the dean of the weavers' guild, sold 1, 5 pieces of cloth of Bruges for both Easter and St Bavo feast earning 28lb 24s.[810]

[808] See the tables from the 1370s London particulars of the aulnage accounts below in this chapter.
[809] SAB, SR 1343-44, fol. 58v.
[810] SAB, SR 1346-47, fol. 54r, 57v.

Weavers from Ghent occasionally went directly to Bruges and provided city government with rays. However, none of the exiles that appear in London figure in Bruges accounts. On several occasions during the 1340s, the same three people from Ghent repeatedly sold cloths to the Bruges authorities, Wouter van Tempelberghe, William Wulleslaeghre, and William van der Mere.[811] All three of them were weavers and figure on the weversgeld and list of oaths[812], therefore they might have been exiled and even lived in England for a while with other Flemings, however, they had unfortunately not made their appearance in the English sources. Interestingly, the aforementioned Wouter van Tempelberghe, in 1345 sold 4 pieces of mixed cloths to the city of Ghent.[813] It seems that he might have had arrangements to bring the traditional striped cloth of Ghent to Bruges cloth hall and then while over there acquire other cloth of good quality and brought them back to Ghent.

2. Flemish exiles and the English Wool trade

From the late thirteenth century the English Crown started using wool in order to increase her tax revenue and also to strengthen her political position as well as to acquire allies on the other side of the English Channel. In Anglo-Flemish relations taxation of wool and various embargos became very important (if not crucial) for the course of events in the county of Flanders during the 1330s, only few years before the beginning of the Hundred Years War. In order to finance his war with France, in 1337 Edward III increased duty on export of wool from 6s 8d a sack to 40s for denizens and 60s per sack for aliens.[814] For easier implementation of these tax levies, from 1294 all English wool was supposed to be exported through the system of the staple. The general policy of the wool staple was that

[811] SAB, SR 1344-45, fol. 55r, 55v; SR 1345-46, fol. 60.
[812] Espinas Pirenne, *Recueil*, pp. 506-507
[813] *De rekeningen der stad Gent II*, p. 473.
[814] Lloyd, *The Wool Trade*, p. 155-56; for the comprehensive course of events for this increase see Ibid., pp. 144-156.

all those who wanted to export wool had to transport it to the town, where the staple was and at any given time sell it there under the direction of the mayor and merchants of the company of the staple. The main object of the staple was to avoid smuggling, and to create a place where the buyers, sellers and the royal tax collectors could meet to do business.[815] For political and strategic reasons its location moved several times from its introduction at the end of the thirteenth century until its permanent transfer to Calais in 1363.[816] Even with high taxation, various bans, and other political games, the documentary evidence still allows us to quantify to some extent the involvement of Flemish immigrants in the English wool trade during the 1350s, 1360s and 1370s.

In order to do so, I will use the particulars of the customs accounts in Great Yarmouth and London. Unfortunately, there are only two surviving rolls of particulars of customs accounts for wool detailed enough to allow us to recognize people from the variety of sources in Great Yarmouth and London and have an idea of their involvement in the wool trade at the second half of the fourteenth century. Only the 1353-54 particulars for Great Yarmouth which were entered into the local borough court rolls[817] and the particulars of the royal exchequer for 1365-66 for London survive.[818]

[815] Lloyd, *The Wool Trade*, p. 194; Murray, *Bruges the Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 263.
[816] Edward I and III used the location of the Staple to obtain better bargaining position in the wool trade with Flanders, but also as the strategic measures in the conflict with France. Thus, in 1294, the first staple was established in Brabant, then in 1313 the staple was moved to Saint-Omer. Bruges became the main centre for the English wool trade on the Continent in 1325 until it moved briefly In 1338 to Dordrecht in Holland. It was transferred back to Bruges in 1340, however because of political instability in Flanders during 1345-49 it was moved to Middelburg in 1348. From 1353 under the Statute of the Staple it was held in England for few years before it was finally transferred to Calais in 1363 where it would stay until the final loss of the town to the French in 1558.
[817] NRO Y/C4/74, mm. 17-19.
[818] TNA, E 122/70/18, mm. 1-9d.

3. Great Yarmouth immigrants and wool exports

The Great Yarmouth customs accounts contained exports and imports of numerous products. To a large extent they consist of the particulars of herring exports, however, which was still the main trade and source of the city's income.[819] The particulars of 1353-54 account contain almost exclusively wool exports. The preceding or the following accounts occasionally recorded wool exports as well, for example an exile from Bruges, Richard Perebom paid the duty for 11 sacks of wool in 1352, or Nicholas (Clais) Houweghe, also from Bruges, for 2 sacks and 22 stones of wool in 1355, but none of these particulars were as detailed for wool as the one of 1353-54.[820] The latter account contains the names, quantities of wool or woolfells exported, duty paid, ship master and date of exit from the port. Unfortunately, the final destination of boats was not recorded. This importance of the wool in the Great Yarmouth local customs accounts was certainly due to the establishment of the staple at Norwich. Great Yarmouth, as the outport of preference for Norwich merchants had seen the wool exports reach their peak.[821] Total amount of wool exported from Great Yarmouth in 1353-54 is 3,356 sacks and along with Flemish exiles, according to their names and cities of origin (when mentioned), the most numerous are Hollanders and Zeelanders. Flemish exiles exported a total of 68 sacks, 191 stones and 7959 woolfells (Table). For example, Michael Baleward, a banished weaver from Bruges exported 1 sack and 41 stones of wool during 1353-54.[822]

[819] Anthony Saul, 'English Towns in the Late Middle Ages: the Case of Great Yarmouth', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 8, 1982, pp. 75-88.
[820] NRO, Y/C4/73, m. 14, Y/C4/75 m. 15r.
[821] Carus-Wilson and Coleman, *English Exports*, p. 47.
[822] NRO Y/C4/74, m. 18r.

Figure 5.3: Flemish exiles and quantities of wool they exported as evidenced in the particulars of the customs accounts for Great Yarmouth 25 March 1353 - 22 March 1354

Boat master and date	Exile (occupation)	Sacks	Stones	Woolfells
Heyneman Claysson	Jacob Ysaac (weaver)	1	5	240
25 March 1353	Jacob de Ipre (weaver)		5	285
	John Abeel			440
John Blomard 4 April 1353	Lambert Yonge (fuller)			480
Boat called 'Welisar'	William Brokere	1	15	36
Constantin Petrisson	Jacob Ysaac (weaver)	1	15	400
11 July 1353	Jacob Couse			
	Jacob de Ipre (weaver)		12	160
Gerard Henrikson	Maas de Rotherdam (weaver)	3	12	
11 July 1353				
John Smyth	Michael Baleward (weaver)		12	
12 July 1353				
Henry Hughesson	Nicholas Houweghe (carpenter)	3	18	
12 July 1353				
Jacob Claysson	Baldwin Feldacker (fuller)		10	
18 July 1353				
John Petrisson	Clays Bastard	3	3	
2 August 1353	Baldwin Broukere	2	7	
	John Dickbusch	2	18	
Athlardus Simmundesson	Richard Perebom	11	1	90
7 October 1353				
Hugo Baselard	Walter Bastard		3	
15 October 1353				
Peter Bollard	John Timerman			100

2 November 1353				
Hamund Heynesson 6 November 1353	John Abeel	1	7	180
Alardus Simondesson 6 November 1353	Peter de Reylond	6	4	1200
Michael Bakere 20 November 1353	Richard Perebom	13	15	
John Smyth 20 November 1353	Clays Bastard			60
	Clays Boulyn			607
John Adamsson 2 December 1353	Michael Baleward (weaver)		14	
	Jacob Isaak			440
	Nicholas de Palling (fuller)			280
William Bek 31 January 1354	Giles Hortere			154
Oker Symondesson 7 February 1354	John Boidin	22		
John Peterson February (illegible)	Nicholas Houwegh (carpenter)			420
Baldwin Jonesson 4 March 1354	John Gerlof (fuller)			340
Peter Jonesson 10 March 1354	Thomas Rotherdam			420
Peter Gillesson 14 March 1354	John Dickbush			700
	Michael Baleward (weaver)	1	15	
	Peter Arnold	5	8	
	Walter Bastard			240
	John Gerlof	1	25	
	John Maynard		20	

	Clays Bastard	1	2	395
	Lambert Veys (fuller)			269
	William Broker		8	316
	Peter Welmakere			80
	Clays Boulyn			341
Peter Gibbisson 22 March 1354	Walter Ingilbrigth			480
	John de Gistele			
	Total:	68	191	7959

It is however worth noting that there are some inconsistencies between the local particulars of the account, and the exchequer's enrolled customs accounts for the 1353-54. The particulars run from 25 March 1353 until 24 March 1354, while the enrolled customs accounts run from Michaelmas (29 September) 1353 until Michaelmas 1354. Thus, the official total of 3,356 sacks is a bit lower in the particulars and represents 1,933 sacks, 2,145 stones of wool and 93,887 woolfells. If we apply the simple calculation in order to transfer woolfells and stones into sacks, we get the total of 2,420 sacks that were exported by aliens from the port of Great Yarmouth from end of March 1353 until end of March 1354 out of which 109 or 4.5% by the Flemish exiles.

1 stone = 14lb

1 sack = 364lb

240 woolfells = 1 sack

$$2420 \text{ sacks} = \frac{2145*14}{364} + \frac{93887}{240} + 1933$$

Out of the 23 exiles that appear on this account, we can say with certainty that only Maas van Rotherdam, from the liberty of Bruges, Clays Bastard, and John Dickbush, both from Nieuwpoort, settled permanently in Great Yarmouth.[823] The others might have settled in Norwich and other places in Norfolk and just used Great Yarmouth as a port of preference. For example, Coppin Ysaak, an exile from Diksmuide who settled and became a freeman

[823] Check chapter 2 and part on Great Yarmouth exiles.

in Lynn in 1351, as mentioned in chapter 2, loaded 2 sacks of wool and 1080 woolfells on three different ships during 1353-54.[824] In 1353, in Norfolk all wool was supposed to be bought at the staple which was established at Norwich. With Great Yarmouth being its outport and given the importance of wool trade for the former, some of these exiles that exported wool probably settled in Norwich during the 1350s.[825] The most interesting feature of this account is the appearance of Flemish fullers as wool merchants. They almost exclusively exported woolfells, Lamsin de Yonge laded 300 woolfells, while Baldwin Feldacker 10 stones of wool on ships whose masters were John Blomard and Jacob Claysson.[826] The quantities are quite small, it shows nevertheless some degree of possession of capital and entrepreneurship even among the exiled fullers. In comparison, no English fuller from the area is known to have exported wool in any account during the same period.[827]

Such appearance of Flemish exiles in the particulars of the Great Yarmouth customs accounts for wool exports in 1353-54 is in part justified by the new regulations introduced in the English wool trade by Edward III around the same period. With political developments in Flanders, which automatically worsened the position of English merchants in Bruges in the beginning of the 1350s, the staple was moved to England and a ban on denizen exports of wool was introduced.[828] The Statute of the Staple from 1353 stipulated that only aliens were allowed to export wool. In addition, wool intended for export was to be bought only in the staple towns designed by the Statute: Norwich, Canterbury,

[824] NRO Y/C 4/74, m. 17r.
[825] For the wool being the major and most interesting trade in Norwich, check Dunn, Population Norwich, pp. 217-19. As I have mentioned earlier, there are no detailed sources for Norwich during the period 1350, therefore we cannot establish how many exiles settled there. See chapter 2 and part on exiles in other towns in England.
[826] NRO Y/C 4/74, m. 17v.
[827] Dunn, Population Norwich; Nightingale, *Grocers*, p. 210-222; Goddard, *Credit*, p.53-55.
[828] Ibid., p. 205-207; *CCR 1349-1354*, p. 506

Newcastle, York, Lincoln, Westminster, Exeter, Bristol and Chichester. In other words, English wool dealers were allowed to trade in wool intended for the local cloth production, but if they wanted to export it, they were obliged to sell it to aliens.[829] Furthermore, in order to avoid inland staples such as Norwich and Lincoln, most of the wool growers and middlemen from 1353 started carrying their wool directly to the port of London where Hanseatic and Italian merchants could bid up the price. These trends pushed most of the Hanseatic merchants to move from their traditional ports of preference on the East coast to London, and avoid transport costs from the staple to the port.[830] This seems to have left the room for the resident alien craftsmen. Thus, under these conditions Flemish weavers and fullers in Great Yarmouth and the surrounding towns such as Lynn and Norwich obviously benefited from their ambiguous legal situation and direct contact with the wool growers, local middlemen in England and merchants on the other side of the Channel to take part in this lucrative trade. Some of this wool might have reached Flanders, its big cities in particular. Indeed, the authorities of Ghent seem to have been aware of the involvement of the banished rebels in the wool trade in England. Around the same time of these particulars of account, on 10 November 1353, the aldermen of Ghent forbade the dyers of that city to dye the wool that was sent into Ghent by the exiles.[831]

In later periods, during the 1360s and 1370s, although very fragmentary, the sources do allow us to see that the Flemish immigrants in Great Yarmouth continued their involvement in the wool trade. In 1366, Clays van Lethy in his response to Edward III's administration

[829] Ibid., p. 207-208

[830] Nightingale, *Grocers*, p. 207; The names of ship masters and exporters as well as the provenance of ships in the 1353-54 Great Yarmouth particulars are usually from Holland and Zeeland, which goes hand in hand with the trends suggested by Pamela Nightingale.

[831] Nicholas, *Metamorphosis*, p. 156; De Pauw, *Voorgeboden*, p. 63: 'dat negheen verwere no blauwere gheenrande wulle en verwe no en blauwe die van buten comt, ballinghen toebehorende, up de boete van L lb. ende de wulle verbuert, ende wie dat bevondeu zoude hebben deene eelft van der wullen, ende de here dander eelft.'

concerning the exports of wool, woolfells and hides on his ship, stated that among the numerous merchants on his ship from Yarmouth to Rotterdam, were the exiles Peter van Thouroud and Coppin Isaac.[832] It seems that on this occasion, the two of them (Peter and Coppin) exported wool and woolfells directly to Rotterdam, avoiding to go to the staple at Calais. The records of the cocket seals for export of wool from 1377-1379 show that some of those who appear in the leet rolls exported large quantities of wool and woolfells.[833] On 26 March 1378, Walter Pouchmaker, *alienigena* paid the cockets for exports of 1,5 sack and 17 stones of wool.[834] Also an exile from Bruges, Clais Makeler, on few occasions appears in the particulars of the customs accounts loading wool for exports. Only in 1376-77, he exported 13 sacks, 26 claws of wool and 789 woolfells on three different ships.[835] Again, the evidence shows that the artisans from the Low Countries even while competing with denizens and other merchants still managed to take part in the wool trade.

4. London immigrants and wool exports

The only surviving particulars of the customs accounts for London are those for 1365-66.[836] The quantities for those have already been analyzed from various perspectives.[837] It is important to mention that unlike Great Yarmouth particulars, where only aliens were allowed to export wool, London particulars make distinction between aliens and denizens. They also give information on which ships the goods were exported, on what date and who the ship master was. Naturally, the final destination of the ships was not recorded, as the

[832] Smit, *Bronnen*, document n° 518; Coppin Isaak appears one more time in Great Yarmouth customs accounts check: NRO Y/C4/79, m. 8r.
[833] TNA, E 122/149/12; Before paying the customs and loading wool sacks on ships, one was supposed to get the cocket seal at the customs collectors.
[834] TNA, E 122/149/12; also in Smit, *Bronnen*, document n° 574, p. 314.
[835] NRO Y/C4/88, mm. 12r, 12v, 13r.
[836] TNA, E 122/70/18.
[837] Beardwood, *Alien Merchants*, was first to use them in order to quantify the involvement of alien merchants in the wool trade. They were also used in three separate studies on Drapers (Quinton), Grocers (Nightingale) and Mercers (Sutton) of London.

Staple policy of that period meant that wool was presumably going to Calais. Wool was transported from Calais to Bruges by the Italians, and Ghent sent people directly to buy wool at Calais.[838]

Individually, quantities exported by the weavers from the Low Countries are a lot lower than what was exported by the leading wool merchants, the grocers such as Fulk Horwood with 338 sacks or Nicholas Brembre with incredible 1,419 sacks.[839] Moreover, those who got to the point to export wool were the leading weavers, or the guild elite amongst the alien craftsmen settled in London. William van Carlewick, who was a bailiff of weavers from Brabant in London, exported only 1,440 woolfells, which when transferred into wool sacks represents the equivalent of 7 sacks.[840] An exile from Ghent, John van Eke, exported only 3 sacks during that same year.[841] It implies that the alien weavers probably acted as middlemen and acquired the quantities of raw wool for themselves in order to distribute to other weavers who worked for them. It seems that the Flemish weavers were more focused on the production and marketing of cloths, as we will see later, than on the wool trade, or they were simply pushed out from the trade by the merchants who possessed a lot more capital. The wool trade became increasingly dominated by the London grocers,[842] and just the mere fact that the Flemish weavers managed to bring the wool to the customs and take part, on a small scale in this profitable trade was quite a success in England during the period of this study. Indeed, there is a long way from the wool grower to putting the wool on boat for export. Those who wanted to export wool from London were obliged to have money to purchase and transport wool ready. Only few London men had enough money to

[838] Nicholas, *Metamorphosis*, p. 139 foot notes 9 and 10.
[839] Nightingale, *Grocers*, p. 220.
[840] E 122/70/18 m. 5.
[841] E 122/70/18 m. 2.
[842] Nightingale, *Grocers*, pp. 219-21

act as middlemen between the provincial merchants and wool exporters.[843] Once the wool reached London, expenses incurred would include storage. From that point, there were three different taxes to be paid and only then the wool was ready for export.[844] Therefore, the particulars of the wool customs accounts and of the aulnage accounts that we will see later suggest that the status of Flemish weavers in London was rather higher than it was thought before and that they did not enjoy the privileges from Edward III just because the Crown wanted to protect poor strangers. The Crown protected the economic potential that they had for the common profit of the Kingdom.[845]

Figure 5.4: Flemish exiles and quantities of wool they exported as evidenced in the particulars of the customs accounts for London 8 October 1366 – 26 September 1367

Ship master and date	Exile	Sacks	Woolfells
John Mone	William van Wattre	8	
8 October 1365			
Lambin Sot	John Dorme	19	
8 October 1365	John Loppere		615
Michael Wale	Peter Walraven	15	
18 October 1365	John Dorme	1	
George Mesday	John Dorme	8	1440
18 October 1365	Peter Walraven		123
	William Dene	14	
	Lievin Fisker	11	
John Loppere	Matthew Stulpart	9	198
25 October 1365			
Fabian Erme	John Dorme	10	
8 November 1365	Peter Wattre	8	

[843] Nightingale, *Grocers*, pp. 220-21; Local middlemen bought wool from growers usually after the shearing in June. However, sometimes they made prearrangements with manors even before the shearing. Check: Britnell, *Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 161-62.
[844] Lloyd, *The English Wool*, p. 62-65.
[845] Lambert, Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit', *JBS*, 55:4, 2016.

	John Cappelle	3	
John Spaignard	John van Eke	3	
8 November 1365	Matthew Stulpart	10	
John Vyne	John Oudenard	18	
8 November 1365			
John Pierson	John Oudenard	1	
11 November 1365	John Brest	1	
Henry Dumble	John Brest	2	
18 November 1365			
Matthew Everday	John van Stone	9	
	John van Brele	11	
Lievin Pierson	John Risele	6	
10 February 1366			
Matthew Everday	John Jaghere	3	
22 February 1366			
John Jorne	John Jaghere	1	
1st March 1366			
William Sottard	William van Carlewyk		1028
18 April 1366			
William Nere	Henry Rothe	1	
21 June 1366			
John Mewesson	John Dorme	13	
26 September 1366	Henry Halling	8	69
Total		193	3473

On the other hand, the native weavers were also (with a considerably minor role) involved in the wool trade. If we take for example those who appeared as the six good men of the trade that guaranteed for John Kempe, the exiled weaver from Ghent, to enter into the freedom of London in 1354 and those who were elected bailiffs of London weavers only

two of them appear in the account for 1365-66.[846] Simon atte Gate exported 60 sacks and 1,852 woolfells, while John Bennet exported 25 sacks and 1,188 woolfells.[847] It is worth to note that on the account for wool subsidy of 1359-60, Nicholas Hotoft, also one of the London weavers 'guild elite' paid the tallage for export.[848] The main advantage that the native weavers enjoyed was that they were considered denizens, which meant lower tax per sack exported. Equally, we get the impression that the bailiffs of the guild of London weavers were in a way the guild elite who had contacts with the wool growers and that they probably acted as middlemen and brought the wool to London and then sold it to other weavers. However, there is not enough evidence to show whether they acted as the burellers from the beginning of the fourteenth century who supervised the whole cloth-making process and at the end sold the cloth as well.[849] They probably supervised the whole production process, however the marketing of their cloth was done through drapers as evidenced in the Great Wardrobe accounts.[850]

5. Involvement in the Cloth production and trade

From John Oldland's numerous works on London cloth production and trade and Richard Britnell's on Colchester, we can easily follow the whole process of production in the fourteenth century in these two places.[851] In Norfolk, and more precisely in Great Yarmouth there is still no detailed study on cloth industry before the fifteenth century, although its importance grew to become one of the biggest industries of the region by the mid-

[846] See chapter 2.
[847] E 122/70/18 mm. 5.
[848] E 122/70/14.
[849] On the burellers, check Oldland, Clothmaking in London, pp. 21-46.
[850] Quinton, Drapers in London, pp. 192-196.
[851] Oldland, Clothmaking in London; Oldland, 'Making and Marketing Woollen Cloth in Late Medieval London', *The London Journal*, Vol. 36, 2011, pp. 89-108; Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, p. 75.

fourteenth century.[852] Nevertheless, the sources of Great Yarmouth allow us to make a small contribution to the story.

The whole process from raw wool to one piece of the quality cloth lasted around one year.[853] Wool had to be bought, then washed, broken up, carded, spun on the spinning wheels, wheft, fulled and then sent for finishing with tailors, shearers and dyers. The evidence from the selected three places for this study suggests that the Flemish immigrants were heavily involved in all of these stages. We have seen above that some of the Flemish exiles, both weavers and fullers were involved in the export of wool, which means that they had contact with the wool growers and thus acting as middlemen for other immigrants from the Low Countries. Lippin Sceepstale, webster was acquiring wool from both the Flemish exiles and from the English wool suppliers as he was involved in debt cases concerning the sale of wool on two occasions with Clais Makeler and William Ridlington. In 1371, Lippin was accused of debt of 19s 6d by William Rydlington for wool bought, while in 1379 he brought a debt plea against an exile from Bruges, Clais Makeler.[854] The next stage of cloth production was done by Flemish women who probably contracted with their husbands, other Flemings and the English weavers as well. Katherine, a wife of Clais Seger was accused of theft of dyed wool by certain John Webbe, who only hired her to break the wool.[855] Flemish weavers were both taking piece work and supervised the whole process of cloth making. John Barremaker was for example hired by William Crabbe in order to make

[852] The only comprehensive work on Norfolk cloth production in fourteenth century is: Sutton Anne F., 'The Early Linen and Worsted Industries of Norfolk and the Evolution of London Mercers' Company', *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. 40, 1987/89, p. 201-225.
[853] Endrei, 'Manufacturing a Piece of Woollen Cloth', p. 14-23.
[854] NRO Y/C 4/85 m. 1r ; NRO Y/C 4/91 m. 4r ; William Rydlington was apparently a regular wool supplier in Great Yarmouth, he was also fined for selling wool by false measurements in 1374, check NRO Y /C 4/87 m. 20v; For Clais Makeler's involvement in wool exports check NRO Y/C 4/88 m. 12r, 12v, 13r.
[855] Benham, *Court Rolls II*, p. 193; Also check Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 20, where Margaret van Vynk was hired by John Lancele to break a portion of wool. For more details about the involvement of Flemish women in cloth production see chapter 6.

a piece of cloth.[856] The number of debt cases between the exiled Flemish weavers and fullers from Bruges in Great Yarmouth suggests that the immigrants rather contracted fulling tasks to their fellow countrymen, and then distributed the finished cloth themselves.[857] Flemish dyers seem to have been contracted to add the blue and red dyes to the cloth[858], while the tailors and shearers focused on tunics and chalons.[859]

Distribution of dyestuffs seems to have been done by Flemish clothworkers as well. The particulars of Great Yarmouth customs accounts in 1353-54 contained some imports as well. Some of the Flemish immigrants that exported wool on the table above also received imported goods from the ship of Richard Clerk in order take them from Yarmouth to Norwich. Michael Balward and Clays Bastard imported herring and madder, Colin Edelman skins, while Peter Reylond imported a fardel of cloth.[860] Apart from the involvement of Flemish exiles in the wool exports, we also notice that they followed the trends in the development of English cloth industry during the 1350s. They started investing more money in the imports and distribution of madder, woad and other dyestuffs.[861] Flemish exiled weavers probably distributed madder and other dyestuffs to both immigrants from the Low Countries and to the English clothworkers.

When it comes to the types of cloth the Flemish weavers produced, it all depended whether they settled in London, Colchester or Great Yarmouth and also on the town of their origin. The aulnage accounts, which record the payment of a fee for the measurement and sealing

[856] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 198.
[857] For the debt cases between Peter van de Scelle, weaver, Bernard Gallin, fuller, Walter Collessad, fuller, during the terms 1354-58, check NRO Y/C 4/75 mm. 2r, 6v; NRO Y/C 4/76 m. 6r.
[858] NRO Y/C 4/73 m. 2v, when John Lister, Fleming was accused of debt by Simon Scot, he was distrained by 3 ells of red cloth.
[859] NRO Y/C 4/80 m. 12v, Everard Tailor, Fleming accused Edmund atte Paston and Katherina his wife of detinue for a rayed chalon he produced for them.
[860] NRO Y/C 4/74, m. 19r.
[861] Nightingale, *Grocers*, p. 209-10; Dunn, Population Norwich, p. 240.

of woolen cloth, make clear that the Flemings in London focused on the production of rays, medium-quality fabrics with striped bands or checks dyed in the yarn, and coloreds, the most expensive, heavily finished kind of cloth.[862] In 1374-1377, the only years for which particulars of account have survived for the capital, the separate membranes devoted to these types of textiles contain almost exclusively names of Flemish artisans.[863] (Tables 2-4) Eight of them were people exiled from Flanders in 1351. John van Dorme, from Ypres, brought eight short ray cloths and two scarlets, the most luxurious kind of woolen dyed with kermes, to the aulnager on 13 December 1374. On 28 September 1376 he aulnaged nine short rays, and on 17 February 1377 he had another three rayed cloths sealed.[864] John Capelle, an exile from Ghent, paid the fee for six short rays on 12 October 1374 and for another eighteen rayed cloths six days later.[865] John van Loo took fourteen pieces of rayed cloth to the aulnager on 2 October 1376.[866] The most numerous exiles in London were the weavers from Ghent who specialized in rays as seen above in this chapter. They obviously brought the skills in this type of cloth that required specialist weaving and shearing skills, which no English producer had at this time.[867] At the same time, there continued to be a domestic market for rays, the other string to the Flemings' bow. The court's growing interest in cloth dyed in the piece did not significantly affect its demand for striped and checked fabrics until the end of this period.[868] In 1362-3, the royal Wardrobe still bought 108 rayed cloths, a number only inferior to the 201 long and short coloreds purchased that year. Whereas most of these rays were also supplied by London drapers, one Fleming,

[862] For the different ranges of cloth on the London market, see John R. Oldland, "London Clothmaking, c. 1270-c. 1550" (D.Phil. diss., University of London, 2003.), 24-5, 59-60.
[863] TNA E 101/340/ 22, m. 3; E 101/340/23, mm. 5, 5d.
[864] Ibid.
[865] TNA E 101/340/ 22, m. 3.
[866] TNA E 101/340/23, m. 5.
[867] Munro, "Textiles, Technology, and Organisation," 183, 211.
[868] Contrary to what is suggested in Eleanor Quinton, "The Drapers and the Drapery Trade of Late Medieval London, c. 1300-c. 1500" (D.Phil. diss, University of London, 2001.), 166-7.

Jacob Bone from Ghent, sold twenty-eight directly to the court.[869] By 1392-5, the relative importance of rayed cloth had dropped compared to that of long and short coloreds, with 134 pieces bought of the former and 872 of the latter, but it remained the Wardrobe's second most sought-after cloth type.[870] Evidence suggests that other wealthy consumers also carried on purchasing rays until at least the end of the fourteenth century.[871]

[869] Part of a Roll of Expenses of the Great Wardrobe, 1362-3, TNA, E 101/394/12.
[870] Roll of Expenses of Great Wardrobe, 1392-5, TNA, E 101/402/13.
[871] See, for example, the many fragments of rayed cloth in the late fourteenth-century deposits excavated at London's Castle Baynard. F. Pritchard, "Patterned Cloths from 14th-century London," in *Textiles in Northern Archaeology: Vol. 3*, eds. P. Walton and J.P. Wild (1990), 155-164, at 159.

Figure 5.5: Quantities and types of cloth aulnaged by the Flemings (those in bold are exiles) 1374-75

Weaver/Draper	Date	Pieces of Cloth	Type of Cloth
John Capelle	12 October	6	Short rays
John van Lest[872]	13 October	5	Short rays
John Marlebeke	13 October	12	Short rays
Lewyn Cokelar	13 October	15	Short rays
John Stretewauwe[873]	15 October	23	Short rays
John Grotere[874]	15 October	17	Short rays
John Capelle	18 October	18	Short rays
Giles van Barle	18 October	5	Short rays
Dionysis van den Vivere[875]	6 November	32	Short rays
John Seland	20 November	3	Short rays[876]
John Dorme	13 December	8	Short rays
Same person	13 December	3	Scarlets
Lambekin Mone	13 December	3	Short rays
Giles van Barle	7 June	26	Short rays
William van Marght	7 June	20	Short rays
Copyn Seland	1 July	48	Short rays
John van Lest	1 July	22	Short rays
John Bures	12 August	28	Short rays
Copyn Seland	19 August	103	Short rays

Source: TNA, E 101/340/22 m. 3

[872] One of the Flemings in a delegation who petitioned to Edward III in 1364 to confirm the privileges from 1350, see supra p. 24 and infra, p. 45.
[873] *Letter Books G*, p. 65-6: A certain Flemish weaver Peter Stertewey appears as surety for good behavior of all Flemish weavers residing in London after they organized a strike. Peter and John might have been related.
[874] He was banished in 1351 from Ghent and was as well a bailiff of Flemish weavers in 1362, checkLetter Books G, p. 131
[875] Dyonisis is actually Nijs van den Vivere who was banished from Ghent in 1351 (table 1), he appears as draper in London, see infra p. 46. Moreover, Nijs is a diminutive in Dutch for Dyonisis.
[876] On the manuscript next to short rays it is added: called 'Moteleys'

Figure 5.6: Quantities and types of cloth aulnaged by the Flemings (those in bold are exiles) 1376-77

Weaver/Draper	Date	Pieces of Cloth	Type of Cloth
Nijs van den Vivere	18 May	18	Illegible
Peter van Hese	18 May	5	Illegible
John Marlebeke	18 May	Illegible	Illegible
John Houdmaker	20 May	Illegible	Illegible
Lewyn Cokelar	21 June	Illegible	Illegible
Dyonisis van Vivere	10 August	14	Short rays
Ras Brewer	12 August	Illegible	Illegible
Lewyn Singheem	12 August	Illegible	Illegible
John van Dorme	28 September	9	Short rays
John van Brele	28 September	13	Short rays
Baldewyne Yawer	28 September	17	Short rays
William van de Mule	28 September	43	Short rays
John Marlebeke	30 September	10	Short rays
John Stertewauwe	30 September	14	Short rays
Lewyn Cokelar	30 September	15	Short rays
John van Strate	2 October	3	Short rays
John van Loo	2 October	14	Short rays
Giles van Eke	13 November	13	Short rays
Andrew van He	13 November	8	Short rays
Ras Brewer	10 December	8	Short rays

Source: TNA, E 101/340/23 m. 5

Figure 5.7: Quantities and types of cloth aulnaged by the Flemings (those in bold are exiles) 1376-77

Weaver/Draper	Date	Pieces of Cloth	Type of Cloth
John Dorme	16 December	Illegible	Illegible
Laurence Maught	16 December	Illegible	Illegible
Giles Meifrot	16 December	Illegible	Illegible
John Brele	8 January	2	Short rays
John Dorme	8 January	3	Short rays
Dyonisis van Vivere	8 January	11	Short rays
John Everyngham	8 January	14	Short rays
John Dorme	18 January	Illegible	Illegible
John Meinfrot	18 January	Illegible	Illegible
William Mews	18 January	Illegible	Illegible
John van Hame	18 January	Illegible	Illegible
Giles van Brele	18 January	Illegible	Illegible
John Stertewauwe	11 February	8	Short rays
Giles van Brele	11 February	7	Short rays
John van Dorme	17 February	3	Short rays
John Stratelyn	17 February	3	Short rays
Dyonisis van Vivere	17 February	9	Short rays
Giles Brele	20 February	7	Short rays
Godfrey Blauwere	26 February	13	Short rays
Ras Brewer	26 February	11	Short rays
John Marlebeke	26 February	10	Short rays
Jacob van Loo	6 March	9	Short rays
Baldwyn Yawer	6 March	19	Short rays
William Yager	6 March	18	Short rays
Dyonisis van Vivere	6 March	14	Short rays
Henry Braban	23 March	1	Short rays
Giles Brele	14 April	21	Short rays
John Stratelyn	13 May	5	Short rays

Source: TNA, E 101/340/23 m. 5d

It looks as if the Flemish arrivals in London operated their business on the same capitalist basis as they used to do in their home county.[877] Five of the exiles are referred to in the London sources as either merchants or merchant-drapers. Three acquired citizenship,

[877] For the organization of the Flemish cloth industry, see Peter Stabel, "Guilds in Late Medieval Flanders: Myths and Realities of Guild Life in an Export-Oriented Environment," *Journal of Medieval History* 30, no. 2 (2004): 187-212, at 208-9.

which, according to London's charter granted by Edward II in 1319, was required in order to trade retail in the city.[878] The amounts of fabric the Flemings aulnaged were consistently very high and exceeded the capacities of individual weavers, whose average output during this period ranged between ten and fifteen cloths a year.[879] By contrast, the other types of woollens recorded in 1374-7 were invariably brought to the aulnager by large numbers of English fullers in much smaller quantities.[880] Given the elevated economic status of many immigrants before their banishment, and the fact that some of them had enough money to export wool, it is likely that some of them possessed the capital to organize the whole production process and subcontracted stages of the work to their fellow Flemings or their families, as they did in Great Yarmouth.[881]

In London, drapers were granted a letter patent in 1364 which excluded the dyers, weavers, fullers to trade in cloth and gave the right to the enfranchised drapers to be the only ones to buy or sell the cloth within the city. Drapers were cut off from the wool trade in the 1350s, therefore they wanted to keep the cloth trade in their hands at all costs.[882] Nevertheless, Flemish exiles also maintained contacts with the London drapers. In 1367, for example, Arnold Skakpynkyl and Nys van de Vyure (Vivere) from Ghent sued draper Nicholas Rouse for a debt of £9 19s.[883] This implies that the Flemish immigrants might have distributed their cloths to the Great Wardrobe through the London drapers.

Given the nature of the sources used for Great Yarmouth and Colchester, it is a little bit easier to draw a picture of what was going on at the domestic cloth market than it is in

[878] *The Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London* (London, 1887), 46-7.
[879] John Munro, "Medieval Woollens: Textiles, Technology, and Organisation," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David Jenkins (Cambridge, 2003), 181-227, at 197.
[880] Oldland, *London Clothmaking*, 85.
[881] Check above and p. note for examples.
[882] Oldland, the London Journal, p. 95
[883] *CPMR*, 2: 270.

London. Rodziewicz assumed that when people were being punished for trading under the guise of being a burgess while they were not, was a public message from the authorities for others not to buy from them.[884] It was probably in some way the main intention of the authorities, but the aforementioned Flemings were fined for this infringement year after year during the 1370s. It seems as if those fines represented a sort of licensing fee. For example, Penny Dunn in her study on the neighboring Norwich had noticed on the town's leet rolls as well that a lot of weavers were fined for trading as citizens while they were not and that might have been an incentive for some to take up the freedom eventually.[885] As far as the Flemish weavers and other textile workers are concerned, it seems that it was quite difficult to obtain the freedom in Great Yarmouth. For this particular offence, John Witbrood, fuller, Lippin Sceepstale, weaver and Jacob Tailor, Fleming were fined on numerous occasions.[886] Given their activity as evidenced in the Great Yarmouth court rolls, it seems that they were wealthy enough to purchase it. Lippin Sceepstale for example, only during 1368, he lost three debt cases against William Fuller, Thomas Stalham and Robert Herbert.[887] Overall, he had to pay the damages of 23s 22d that year only. If he had such an amount of money on him to pay the damages, he would have probably had enough to pay the fee to enter the franchise, whatever the price. Moreover, he was never offered pardon by Bruges or the comital authorities, therefore he had all the more reason to acquire freedom and facilitate his trade in the town. However, it appears that it was impossible to do so, or that Flemish textile workers had not really needed it. Indeed, Flemish textile workers had the protection from Edward III that granted them the right to exercise their trade in England, but as it can be observed, for the local authorities, it was not enough. Heather Swanson

[884] Rodziewicz, p. 8.
[885] Dunn, p. 158.
[886] NRO, Y /C 4/ 81 m. 25v; Y/C 4/84 m. 2v; Y/C 4/ 90 m. 12r.
[887] NRO Y/C 4/83 mm. 9, 10.

suggested that in medieval York, the entrepreneurial organization was such that it was not always worthwhile for the weavers to enter the freedom in order to do business.[888] We have however seen earlier that some of the immigrating textile workers from the Low Countries entered into the freedom of the city of York, Colchester and even London. Similar difficulties with entry into franchise as in Great Yarmouth were observed by Kowaleski in fourteenth century Exeter.[889]

Entering the franchise in Great Yarmouth would have certainly made things easier even for the sale of cloth. On numerous occasions, Flemings were accused of cutting and selling woolen and linen cloth against the Statute and trading as citizens while they were not.[890] Similar offences were recorded around the same time in Exeter and Kowaleski linked this offence (cutting cloth) with forestalling.[891] In 1379, it is even added that Lippin Sceepstale, John Witbrood, and William Tailor, Dutchman are cutting and selling woollen and linen cloth against the Statute of Gloucester, which indeed reinforced the ordinance against forestallers.[892] On the other hand, in London and Colchester, Flemings appear not to have had problems with sales of cloth on the local market. Apart the aulnage accounts above where the Flemings sold vast amounts of rays, an exile from Ghent, Laurence de Maught sued John Noket for a debt of 50lb for linen cloth that the former supplied to Isolda the wife of the latter.[893] In Colchester, John Backer, a Fleming sold a piece of 'Flemish cloth' to John Revere in 1375.[894] The only evidence that suggests that strangers could not trade if not citizens is the case of William de Breggis, Fleming who was fined for selling piece of

[888] Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 36.
[889] Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Trade*, p. 101-104.
[890] NRO Y /C 4/90, m. 12 r; William Tailor, Duchman, John Elys, Webster, Paul Souter, Paul Dumburgh, Gerard Souter, Henry van Campe, Jacob Tailor scindunt et vendent panni di linen et lanna contra statute et mercandirant tam quam burgenses et non sunt'
[891] Kowaleski, 'Women Exeter', p. 149.
[892] NRO Y /C 4/90, m. 12r.
[893] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 67.
[894] Benham, Court Rolls III, p. 70.

cloth contrary to warning elsewhere than proscribed.[895] However, the hundred court of Colchester does not mention fines to Flemings as forestallers of cloth. It might be that Flemings were getting such fines in Great Yarmouth only because they were selling cloth outside the market.

There is also evidence of the circulation of credit amongst the Flemish exiles. Hanyn Blanckard was accused by Copin Amelry for a debt of 15d, he acknowledged 5 ½d, which he lent, but disputed the rest.[896] It was probably true, because the case was not continued on the next session, and it was stated that the litigants found a settlement and got licenses to agree.[897] Another interesting case includes a deal between an exiled weaver from Bruges James Pappe and John Note. James Pappe was accused of debt of 7s 10d for cloth sold and including 10d lent. He acknowledged the same, but says that he agreed to weave for John Note until he had worked off his debt. The Bailiffs accepted their settlement and gave them license to agree.[898] One could pay off his debt by weaving, but it seems as well that when one was contracted to weave, it was probably very common to expect to be paid in advance.

Conclusions of the chapter

In his Growth and Decline, Britnell calculated that the main phases of growth of the Colchester's cloth industry were probably 1351-56 and 1375-80.[899] These dates are supported by the previous chapters and the arrival of the Flemish rebels after exile, and also through their involvement in the cloth trade once they settled in England as presented in this chapter. The same might be concluded for London, given the profile of the exiles who arrived in the Capital during the 1350s. It is clear that the exiles who settled in London,

[895] Benham, Court Rolls II, p. 138.
[896] Benham, Court Rolls III, p. 197.
[897] Ibid.
[898] Benham, Court Rolls IV, p. 66-67.
[899] Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, p. 188.

possessed both the capital and political connections to be able to help develop the cloth industry. It is especially clear for the period 1375-80, when they were bringing the vast amounts of rays to the aulnager as we have seen above. Nevertheless, the biggest contribution of this chapter is actually the proof that the exiled weavers acted as exporters of wool.

Chapter 6: Flemish Women in England and economic activities

Introduction

By now, the interest in economic activities of women in the Late Middle ages in England and the Low Countries has got quite some attention. The pioneering studies were those of Annie Abraham and Eileen Power which both conclude that women in England played an active role in economic activities during the Middle Ages and thus established scholarly interest in the economic activities of women.[900] Over the years that followed, various aspects of economic activities of women in late medieval England and Flanders have been studied. At first, the debate turned around wages that women earned in late medieval England. Because of the high mortality rate due to the Black Death, Caroline Barron concluded that the second half of the fourteenth century represented a 'Golden Age' for women. She argued that women were able to find work due to labour shortages as well as to gain higher wages as was the case for their male counterparts.[901] More recently, Jeremy Goldberg came to a similar conclusion for late medieval Yorkshire.[902] Based on the evidence of wages received by the male and female agricultural workers before and after 1349, Sandy Bardsley opposed the thesis of the 'Golden Age'.[903] In her Ale Beer and Brewsters, which is a key work on the beer industry and women's

[900] Annie Abraham, 'Women Traders in Medieval London', *Economic Journal*, 26, 1916, pp. 276-85; Eileen Power, 'The Position of Women', In: *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. C. G. Crump, E. F. Jacob, Oxford, 1926, pp. 401-34.
[901] Barron, 'Golden Age of Women in Medieval London', *Reading Medieval Studies*, Vol. 16, 1990, p. 35-58.
[902] Goldberg, *Women Work and Lifecycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire 1300-1520*, Oxford, 1992.
[903] Sandy Bardsley, 'Women's Work Reconsidered: Gender and Wage Differentiation in Late Medieval England', *P&P*, Vol. 165, 1999, p. 3-29.

occupations in late medieval England, Judith Bennet also disputed this thesis.[904] The most comprehensive study on women's activities in late medieval and early modern England was presented recently by Marjorie Keniston McIntosh.[905] Another important contribution on women's activities was made by Marianne Kowaleski in her work on economic activities of women in a market town of Exeter during the late fourteenth century. Her conclusions were based on the voluminous borough court records, where she argued that women in Exeter occupied lower ranks of employment as they were pushed out of the trade by the town's elite. Indeed, women were denied access to franchise and were obliged to pay various fines or licensing fee to trade in the market, which automatically pushed them into extralegal activities such as prostitution or keeping a brothel.[906] Similar observations can be made in Colchester and Great Yarmouth as we will see later. On the Continent, Shennan Hutton observed women's credit worthiness in fourteenth century Ghent.[907] While Jim Murray wrote a chapter on the economic activities of women in fourteenth century Bruges in his convincing study *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*.[908] However, none of the authors on both sides of the English Channel has ever considered the position of immigrant women in the fourteenth century. The purpose of this chapter is to fill this lacuna and examine activities of Flemish women in England, either if they followed their husbands or if they emigrated alone.

[904] Judith Bennet, *Ale Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World 1300-1600,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1996.
[905] M. K. McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society 1300-1620*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005.
[906] Kowaleski, Women's Work in a Market Town: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century, in: *Women and Work in Pre-industrial Europe*, Hanawalt Barbara (ed.), Bloomington, 1986, p. 145-164.
[907] S. Hutton, *Women and Economic Activities in Late Medieval Ghent*, Palgrave McMillan, 2011.
[908] J. Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism 1280-1390,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005.

1. *Immigrant Women's Economic Activities*

In previous chapters, we have seen that Flemish women had not only followed their husbands to England. They also emigrated alone, in search of work. Like for male Flemish immigrants, the evidence suggests that immigrant women also settled all over England and were not confined to the English capital. Flemish women were engaged mostly in the textile and the brewing industries. The total number of Flemish women appearing in sources in three towns chosen for the period of the study is 100. 45 of them in Colchester, 35 in Great Yarmouth and 22 in London. Like their male counterparts, in Great Yarmouth and Colchester borough court rolls, Flemish women appeared for various trespass, debt, breach of covenant but also as exporters of wool and cloth. For at least 33 of them (14 in Great Yarmouth and 19 in Colchester), we can say that they were married and came to England with their husbands, all of whom were of Flemish origin.

In trespass cases, women usually resorted to the borough courts to settle disputes for physical aggression against both men and women, native or alien. Thus, in 1381 in Colchester, Alice van Polt was charged with an assault on Idonea Fleming, in the house of Richard Baker. She pleaded not guilty and brought a cross charge, where Idonea Fleming pleaded not guilty. After the enquiry, Idonea was found guilty for starting the brawl and was fined 12d.[909] It seems that Richard Baker held a tavern in his house where Flemish residents in Colchester used to have their pass time or business meetings. In 1380, Arnold Flemyng and Outre Camber were both fined for drawing his knives on one another in Richard's house.[910] Richard Baker might have been a Fleming himself, as there were other immigrants bearing the same surname that settled

[909] Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 120.
[910] Ibid., p. 58.

in Colchester in previous years, however, it was never explicitly stated that Richard was Fleming.[911] Sometimes, there are a little bit more details about physical aggression between immigrant women. For example, Marieria, wife of Jacob Tailor, Fleming drew blood of Beatrix Coperose with her fist.[912] The available tools and weapons were used, as well. In 1367, Marieta, wife of an exile from Ghent, Giles van Molle, was charged with assault on Joan van Clanemere with knife and stone.[913] However, the trespass cases that involved female litigants show that Flemish women did have response towards male aggression. Indeed, in Colchester, Isabella van Tene was charged with assault on Nigel Braban in 1380.[914] Or Margaret, wife of Hanyn Hancock, was charged with violent assault with an iron candle stick on another Fleming Peter Jonessone in 1383.[915] Even though most of the cases that fell under trespass and physical aggression do not tell us much about the economic activities of women, they do still show their presence in urban areas and, more importantly, that Flemish women, although aliens and sometimes single, still had the right to bring their grievances to the local authorities.

The most widespread women's activity in fourteenth century England was the production of ale. As water was polluted and not drinkable, the principal reason for every household to produce beer was to replace it. It was also a means to supplement the household income and certainly not a principal activity as other members of the household were usually engaged in different activities other than brewing.[916] Flemish exiles and their wives seem to have adapted

[911] An exile from Ghent Walter de Backer settled in Colchester after the banishment as well as a certain John Baker, Fleming. Check: Benham, Court Rolls II, p 68, 115.
[912] NRO Y/C 4/ 84 m. 2v.
[913] Benham, *Court Rolls II*, p. 224.
[914] Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 131.
[915] Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 185.
[916] For the division of labour in brewing see Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter*, p. 131; Bennet, *Brewsters*, p. 24-33.

to this rule after their arrival in England during the second half of the fourteenth century. The court leet in Great Yarmouth and the Hundred court in Colchester recorded at every session the citizens who paid fine for breaking the assize of beer. As most of the people who paid fines appear regularly, it would seem that this penalty was more of a licensing fee to produce and sell ale.[917] In both Colchester and Great Yarmouth brewing ale was mostly associated with women and was the most common economic offence brought to the borough court.[918] We must make an important note that in the fourteenth century, beer was not produced in England and the fines for producing and selling against the assize were strictly related to the production of ale. There is even a difference in recording it in the court by scribes, ale was always recorded using the Latin word for beer, *cervisia*, while beer that was produced with hops and brought from Continental Europe was recorded under the name of *ber*. Judith Bennet argued that beer with hops was introduced to England only at the end of the fourteenth century and was only sold as an imported good and still not produced. She argues as well that its sale was dominated by men.[919] When it comes to Great Yarmouth, her chronology corresponds perfectly. On the leet roll for the term 1369-70, on the regular amercements for brewing the ale against the assize, there are 25 women who paid fines and at the end four men. These four were actually Flemish immigrants, Lippin Sceepstale, Webster, Jacob Fleming, Walter Pouchmaker Boudewyn Fuller, Fleming. and it is specifically added that they sell beer on retail and Lippin and Walter paid a fine of 12d, while Boudewyn and Jacob paid a heavy fine of 2s.[920]

[917] Kowaleski, *Medieval Exeter*, p. 132.
[918] Rodziewicz, p. 59; Also for more on the organization of the assize of ale in Colchester see, Britnell, *Growth and Decline*, p. 89-91.
[919] Bennet, *Brewsters*, p. 159-170.
[920] NRO Y/C 4/ 84 m. 2v; 'tabernant ber contra statute'.

Even though Flemish male immigrants were involved in the sale of beer, female immigrants still had a bigger role in production. It seems that Flemish women actually produced the ale, because when they appear in the fines for making ale against the assize, it was never stated that they produced beer. In one case from 1358, Margaret fan Outraght was supposed to pick up six barrels of beer in the house of Mace de Rotterdame, left for her by certain a Robert Houdestoc, presumably a merchant.[921] Mace de Rotterdame was an exile from the liberty of Bruges and as we have seen in chapter five, he was involved in the wool and the cloth trade. One can notice that Flemish exiled textile workers were not involved exclusively in the sale and the production of cloth and wool. They obviously had contacts with merchants from across the English Channel who would bring it to them in order to be sold on retail to both their fellow compatriots and the English.

Actually, when it comes to Great Yarmouth, we can notice that wives of Flemish exiles who were weavers or fullers usually supplemented household income through the production of ale. Thus, Beatrix Cappel, wife of an exiled weaver from Bruges, William Cappel, was fined three times for brewing and selling ale against the assize during the 15 years that the leet rolls survive. Some of the Beatrix's ale found its way in the international market as well. Indeed, on 20 December 1367, her husband, William Cappel, exported 6 barrels of ale on the boat of John Othelard from Newhaven.[922] It might be interesting to mention that on the leet roll for that year (1367), it was William Cappel, Flemyng that paid the fine for brewing against the assize, while the year afterwards (1368), when he does not appear in the customs accounts, it was Beatrix who paid the fine.[923] It is possible that Beatrix exported this ale herself, but William's name

[921] NRO Y/C 4/ 76 m. 4v.
[922] NRO, Y /C 4/ CR 81 m. 23r.
[923] NRO, Y /C 4/ CR 81 m. 25v; NRO, Y /C 4/ CR 82 m. 16r.

was introduced as her legal guardian. It seems that Flemish women exported ale themselves, since on the same boat Margareta, wife of Clays Lanternemaker, also exported 8 barrels of ale.[924] Other Flemish craftsmen that exported ale were John Gerard, a cordwainer and John Withbrood, a fuller. In 1375, the former loaded 48 barrels, while the latter 3 lasts of ale for export.[925] Given the quantities they sold, it is quite possible that they acquired this ale from other producers, both English and Flemish. They might have sent it to Holland and Zeeland, as the demand for English ale was still high during the late fourteenth century.[926]

Even though ale production was dominated by women, they did not work completely alone, they were helped by the whole household. Female servants, probably helped with various tasks needed to brew the ale.[927] In this environment, single Flemish women probably worked alongside other women who produced ale. For example, Flemish immigrant, Katherine Cornbyter was a servant at Richard Evessiing's house during the 1370s.[928] Richard's wife Agnes paid the assize of ale on several occasions[929], therefore one can assume that Katherine Cornbyter was also helping with making, serving and selling ale.

Apart from ale brewing, Flemish women in England were probably a lot more involved in the first stages of cloth production. More precisely, a hard labour was required for conversion of the wool shorn from sheep into the yarn used for weaving. This included combing, carding and spinning and it was usually done by women who worked from home on a piece rate basis.[930]

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[924] NRO, Y /C 4/ CR 81 m. 23r.
[925] NRO, Y/C 4/ CR 87 m. 14.
[926] Nelly Kelling, *Commercial Relations of Holland and Zeeland with England from the 13th Century to the Close of the Middle Ages*, Brill, Leiden, 1954.
[927] Bennet, *Brewsters*, p. 24-25.
[928] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 5.
[929] Benham, *Court Rolls, IV*, p. 90.
[930] McIntosh, *Working Women*, p. 212.

Flemish women were usually hired to wash, break and spin the wool for weavers, but it seems that they also bought wool, presumably in order to prepare the thread themselves and sell it afterwards. For example, Margaret van Vynk was hired by a weaver from Colchester John Lancele in 1372 in order to break a portion of wool.[931] On the other hand, Margaret, wife of an exile from Bruges John Skyleman, was charged in 1374 with owing William Somerton 6s 3d for wool sold to her back in 1367.[932] Also, Katherine Flemyng came before the bailiffs of Colchester in 1366 and acknowledged owing to Simon Hadleigh money for wool she bought.[933] The evidence here suggests that women did indeed buy wool themselves and then presumably sold threads to the weavers. There is one case from Great Yarmouth to support this argument. Indeed, in 1360, Alice fan Tyne accused John Robel of a debt for woollen thread she sold to him.[934]

The fact that Flemish women got to organize the whole process themselves from buying wool to making threads themselves should not be surprising as some of them even got to export some of the wool. On the particulars of customs accounts from 1353-54, three Flemish women appear as exporters. On the boat of John Petrisson, Margery Doumburg loaded 8 stones of wool[935], Christiana Andrewsdoughter exported 1 stone of wool and 677 woolfells on two different boats[936], while Isabella Letheyn loaded a cargo with 180 woolfells[937], presumably they might have continued their husband's business. We have seen in chapter 3 in Lelia Blawer's

[931] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 20.
[932] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 66.
[933] Benham, *Court Rolls II*, p. 188.
[934] NRO, Y/C 4/ CR 77 m. 5.
[935] NRO, Y/C 4/ CR 74 m. 19v.
[936] NRO, Y/C 4/ CR 74 m. 17r, 19r.
[937] NRO, Y/C 4/ CR 74 m. 19r.

will that she paid off her debts towards John Pape, tailor and Ghys Deigher, a dyer.[938] Therefore, her occupation was probably not only a stew keeper, suggesting that she might have continued her husband's business, Peter, who was a dyer and had died a year before her. It is worth mentioning that Flemish women involved in textile industry in Colchester worked both with Flemish and native cloth-workers. For example, when Katherine Flemyng needed pledges, a prominent weaver John Dober and fuller John Sebern went bail for her in front of the bailiffs of Colchester in 1377.[939] Sota Flemyng was accused of debt and breach of covenant, but then in 1379, got license to agree with Richard Baude, who was one of the prominent fullers in Colchester.[940] Also, the same year, she was charged by a weaver, John Keek, for removing certain chattels.[941] In 1379, Agnes Flemyng got licence to come to terms with Thomas Copshef for an unspecified debt.[942] Thomas, a Fleming himself, was probably a fuller since he was still bringing large quantities of broadcloth to the aulnager in 1390s.[943]

Flemish women were also involved in the sale of cloth and there is ample evidence to support this argument in the sources of London, Colchester and Great Yarmouth. In London, on 22 January 1367, Margaret Kemestere, Flemyng (plaintiff) and Lambkyn Flemyng, weaver, came to terms in a plea of detinue of a furred *gyte*[944] and *kyrtile* and other things.[945] In Colchester, there are few interesting cases involving Flemish women in the cloth trade. In 1377, Katherine

[938] LMA, MS 9171/1, fol. 137.
[939] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 144; For John Dober acting as a weaver, see Benham, Court Rolls III, p. 204; While for John Sebern, check, Britnell, Growth and Decline, p. 76.
[940] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 192; Richard Baude appears on numerous occasions in the borough court and was also bringing large quantities of cloth to the aulnager still during the 1390s. Check: TNA, E 101/342/9 mm. 1r-3v.
[941] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 202.
[942] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 175.
[943] TNA, E 101/342/9 mm. 1r-3v.
[944] Gyte, or kyte was a kind of dress or a gown.
[945] *Memoranda Rolls II*, p. 69.

Flemyng attached to reply to Augustine Plomer, who claimed 7s 6d for cloth sold.[946] Margaret Fraunceys attached to reply to Katherine Van the Brok on charge of detention of goods, silk veil of value 5s.[947] In Great Yarmouth, an exiled fuller from Bruges, Baldwyn Wymes and his wife Katherine accused Beatrix fan Oudewater of a debt, who was distrained by a tunic.[948] While Katherina Bowdin, wife of an exile John Bowdin, acknowledged in front bailiffs that she received 5 white broadcloths, from someone whose name has unfortunately faded from the manuscript.[949]

When it comes to women's involvement in the textile industry, it was probably most wide-spread in the city of Salisbury. In the 1379 poll tax records, there are 55 of women with occupational surname such as Spinestere, Lavender, or Webbe appearing alone (*sola*) paying the subsidy.[950] As we have seen in chapter 2, Salisbury had certainly attracted some of the immigrants from the Low Countries and some of these women might have originated from there.[951] However, given the occupational surname, and the lack of records from the fourteenth century Salisbury, it will be very difficult to establish their exact number. The poll tax returns of Southwark are a little bit more informative on the origin of some of the women who worked in the first stages of textile production. For example, Truyde Frowe, spinestere, Mathilda Frowe, spinestere and some others with suggestive surnames paid a subsidy of 12d in 1381.[952]

[946] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 146.
[947] Benham, *Court Rolls IV*, p. 118
[948] NRO Y /C 4/ 82 m. 1v.
[949] NRO Y /C 4/ CR 88 m. 3r
[950] Fenwick, *Poll Taxes 3*, pp. 110-118; There are a lot more women paying the subsidy alone as well with regular surname or employed as servants.
[951] See chapter 2 and the discussion on Flemings in other English cities than London, Colchester and Great Yarmouth. Indeed, some names such as Agnes Strengestre sola, or Leticia ate Brugge sola are leading us to believe that some women were Flemish. See Fenwick, *Poll Taxes 3*, pp. 112, 115.
[952] Fenwick, *Poll Taxes*, p. 565.

The evidence here suggests that female immigrants in Late Medieval Southwark had not only been employed as prostitutes.

2. *Women and prostitution*

Another topic in gender history that was usually associated with women immigrants, and especially with Flemish women in Late Medieval England, was prostitution. The existing historiography on medieval prostitution in England suggests that women immigrants both from the country side and from overseas were an easy target for prostitution. Migrants were very well represented among prostitutes in Medieval Winchester as suggested by Derek Keene.[953] On the West coast town of Exeter, Maryanne Kowaleski argued that women were driven into this 'trade' because of the limited commercial opportunities, and lack of legal rights in the common law. She relates that the usual profile of the prostitute in the court records of Exeter were poor, unmarried women and immigrants.[954] In a detailed study on women's activities in Yorkshire, Jeremy Goldberg argued that a number of women accused of prostitution bore the surname Scott and that this may indicate that local prejudices denied to northern migrants access to regular employment.[955] More generally, Ruth Karras observed that in English towns many prostitutes were indeed immigrants and most prominent amongst them were those from the Low Countries, either as brothel keepers or prostitutes.[956] She concluded that all the factors suggested above that could drive women into prostitution – unemployment or underemployment, lack of family support – affected women of all ages and origin, if some

[953] Keene, *Winchester*, p. 392.
[954] Kowaleski, *Women*, p. 154.
[955] Golberg, *Women Work* p. 152.
[956] Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1996, p. 56-57.

more than others.[957] As far as Flemish women in England are concerned, it seems that they turned into prostitution for exactly these same reasons. Lack of employment opportunity during the revolts and wars in fourteenth century Flanders, proximity of the English and Flemish coast, continual contact between mercantile communities, numerous ships calling at the ports regularly, made it easier for single women to leave their country for England to look for work. However, once in England even despite the Black Death, jobs that women could find were still very low paid, therefore supplementing income through prostitution would seem as one of the options.

3. *Flemish women in the context of urban regulation of prostitution in English towns*

Even though it was not legally tolerated, the authorities of Colchester, Great Yarmouth and London had been very aware of the existence of prostitution. Through various by-laws, proclamations and ordinances, they tried to regulate the locations where prostitutes would live and operate and impose the specific clothing in order to distinguish the 'women of bad repute' from 'good and noble dames and damsels'. In fourteenth century London, it was stipulated in an ordinance that prostitutes should be segregated in one street Cock's Lane. The same ordinance mentions Flemish women specifically, suggesting again that they were numerous in this trade.

'*'whereas many and divers affrays, broils, and dissensions, have arisen in times past, and many men have been slain and murdered, by reason of the frequent resort of, and consorting with, common harlots, at taverns, brewhouses of huksters, and other places of ill-fame, within the said city, and the suburbs thereof; and more especially through Flemish women, who*

[957] Ibid.

profess and follow such shameful and dolorous life:—we do by our command forbid, on behalf of our Lord the King, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, that any such women shall go about or lodge in the said city, or in the suburbs thereof, by night or by day; but they are to keep themselves to the places thereunto assigned, that is to say, the Stewson the other side of Thames, and Cokkeslane; on pain of losing and forfeiting the upper garment that she shall be wearing, together with her hood, every time that any one of them shall be found doing to the contrary of this proclamation. And every officer and serjeant of the said city shall have power to take such garments and hoods, in manner and form aforesaid: which they shall bring to the Guildhall, and shall have the half thereof for their trouble."[958]

In both Colchester and Great Yarmouth no such ordinance or proclamation survive, however through the fines imposed on prostitutes and bawds in court rolls of these towns, we can conclude that the authorities tended to impose the rules on prostitution similar to those from London. In Great Yarmouth as in the capital, prostitutes were pushed to live at the location outside the city walls - at the denes (map, chapter 2).[959] This location is associated with lepers, who were also supposed to live there, suggesting that prostitutes were considered as undesirable for the community at the same level as lepers.[960] It was even feared that through prostitutes, leprosy would spread rapidly throughout the society.[961] In 1374 during the lawhundred of Colchester, 'Littlemalin'[962] and Alice Fairealsen were fined for being common harlots and for living outside the Berislane.[963] Later on in 1379 Katherine Kytlyng and Agnes

[958] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 535.
[959] Rodziewicz, Great Yarmouth, p. 98
[960] Ibid.
[961] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, 2006, p. 284.
[962] Suggestive nicknames were quite usual in the English records for prostitutes given by themselves for the sake of exoticism. See Karras, *Common Women*, p. 56.
[963] ERO D/B 5 CR m. 1, Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 53.

Terry were fined for being common harlots and for living outside 'le Berislane', against the custom of the town.[964] Apart from that both cases suggest that there was a location where prostitutes were banished, the second case makes clear that the town possessed some kind of ordinance concerning the issue. Additionally, when a Flemish immigrant, Alice Chlovekin, was fined for being a prostitute, it is stated that she is 'living outside the old appointed place for such in the borough of Colchester'.[965] Same as the denes in Great Yarmouth, le Berislane (nowadays Vineyard Street) is just outside the city walls in Colchester, not so far away from St Botolph's Priory (map, chapter 2).[966]

Apart from locations, the ordinance in London proscribed as well that prostitutes are supposed to wear a striped hood when they are outside the appointed locations. In London, an ordinance was passed twice by its officials, in 1351 and 1382, that women of bad repute, if within the franchise, are supposed to wear a hood of ray only.[967] The striped hood was also common in fourteenth century Great Yarmouth. An immigrant woman from the Low Countries, Lucebet Gimptressone was fined for prostitution, and as usual in Great Yarmouth, she was exiled from within the city walls and sent to the denes. The fine continues that if she is about to enter the town, she should wear a striped hood.[968] There is no evidence of such a rule in fourteenth century Colchester, but given the fact that other English towns had a similar rule[969], it would

[964] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 177.
[965] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 186.
[966] Victoria County History, Essex, volume 9, p. 22.
[967] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 458.
[968] NRO Y/C 4/ 105, m. 6v; See also Rodziewicz, Great Yarmouth, p. 98; Another case of prostitutes and the rule of the striped hood is mentioned in a case that does not necessarily involve Flemish women. On the leet roll from 1379 Mathilde who lives in the house of Thomas Marsh and Isabelle who lives in the house of Bartholomew Noggan are fined for being common regrators of ale, prostitutes and garulatrix and common 'breakers' of the proclamation about the striped hood. Check: NRO Y/C 4/90, m. 12r.
[969] Karras, *Common Women*, p. 19.

not be surprising that the Colchester authorities had enforced it as well. However, when it comes to the other side of the Channel, for example in Bruges, there was no distinctive clothing proscribed for prostitutes as there was in England.[970] While in Paris, the prostitutes' clothing was very strictly regimented in order to distinguish '*les femmes de mauvaise vie des femmes honnêtes'*.[971]

In terms of imposing fines on Flemish prostitutes, slight differences occur between Colchester and Great Yarmouth. On two occasions, when the bailiffs of Colchester brought Flemish prostitutes to the court of lawhundred, pecuniary fines were imposed on them. Alice Chlovekin was fined 2s and Sara Malin by the unknown amount.[972] In Great Yarmouth, the usual fine for prostitutes was to abjure the town. Thus, in 1368, Trude van Heys and Giselle Blok were publicly accused of prostitution and their fine was to abjure the town, presumably to go to the Denes.[973] Fines were also imposed on those who provided place and/or clients for prostitutes, the so called procurers or bawds. For example, Thomas Clerk and Katherine Crane, both immigrants in Great Yarmouth in 1367 were fined 6d and 12d for receiving prostitutes during night at their homes.[974] Unfortunately, in Colchester even though the hundred court mentions people who were fined for harbouring prostitutes with their clients, the amount is specified only once. In 1375 'Littlemalin' was fined 6d for being a common harlot and receiving married priests at her place.[975] Given the low amount of the fine and that the same Littlemalin was fined

[970] Murray, *Bruges, Cradle of Capitalism*, p. 328-29.
[971] B. Geremek, *Les marginaux parisiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, Flammarion, Paris, 1976, p. 246.
[972] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 104 and 186; For Sara Malin, it is just registered that she was fined, however the amount is faded and completely illegible.
[973] NRO, Y/C 4/82 m. 16v.
[974] NRO, Y/C 4/81 m. 25r.
[975] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 69; For other examples of fines imposed to people for receiving harlots and their clients in Colchester check ibid., p. 53.

the previous year as well suggests that the bailiffs of Colchester might have used fines for prostitution as a sort of licensing fee. This practice of a fine as a 'licensing fee' was suggested by Mazo-Karras as she observed that in some other English towns during the same period as the same persons were fined repeatedly every year.[976]

4. *Link between ale house and prostitution*

Taverns where beer was served were places associated with prostitution and were visited by both occasional and regular prostitutes, who might have had arrangements with the owners to steer the potential customers their way in order to share profits.[977] Occasional prostitutes could meet there potential customers and since the taverns had private rooms available, they could bargain if they would not be able to take the men to their place.[978] The tavern, sale of ale and beer seem to have been going hand in hand with prostitution in Great Yarmouth. Two people who got accused of receiving prostitutes in 1379 Robert Northich and Emma Somenour, both seem to be English, also paid the amercement for making ale the same year.[979] A similar occurrence was recorded involving Bartholomew Meller and William Porter who were accused of nourishing Clarice Soyt, a prostitute from the Low Countries and Hannekin de Durdraught in their taverns by night. On the same folio, Mathilde Meller paid an amersement for producing and selling ale.[980] In 1380, a Flemish woman, Aughte Legat was fined for receiving prostitutes and other malefactors, but also for holding a tavern and selling beer contrary to the assize.[981]

[976] Karras, *Common Women*, p. 22-23.
[977] Karras, *Common Women*, p. 72, Taverns connected with prostitution Karras, 'The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England', *SIGNS*, Vol. 14, 1989, p. 407; See also Bennet, *Brewsters*, p. 140-41.
[978] Karras, *Common Women*, p. 71.
[979] NRO, Y/C 4/87 m. 20r.
[980] NRO, Y/C 4/89 m. 12v.
[981] NRO, Y/C 4/89 m. 12v.

William Tailor, Fleming was fined twice, in 1380 and in 1381, for being a common regrater of beer and a receiver of prostitutes and thieves in his tavern.[982] It is interesting to observe that both William Tailor, a Dutchman and Aughte Legat with other Flemish residents were fined as well in 1379 for being common regraters of beer in their taverns and for being night vagrants.[983] It is not explicitly said as in the cases from 1380 and 1381, however it is quite obvious that they were probably accused of having prostitutes as well. On the other side of the channel, similar offence would be to hold a bad hotel, *malvais hostel* in French or *quader herberghe* in Dutch, as we have seen in chapter one.[984] Also, given the fact that it would be the same people fined for receiving prostitutes, we might conclude that the Great Yarmouth authorities to some extent tolerated this activity and that these fines were a sort of licensing fee. Nevertheless, in these cases the evidence strongly suggests the link between the tavern and prostitution. Tavern would in a way represent a perfect cover for prostitution since the owner would usually have available rooms where the newly arrived young female immigrants could stay, but also could provide other work for the brothel/tavern keeper if they had no customers, such as helping with producing and serving beer.

The tavern was not the only place associated with prostitution in England, the medieval bathhouse, called the stews were often places where this kind of service might have been provided. The most connected place with stews and prostitution was the suburb of London belonging to the bishopric of Winchester - Southwark. The stews of Southwark were often associated with violence and promiscuous behaviour. Of course, the fourteenth century

[982] NRO, Y/C 4/91 m. 10v, Y/C 4/92 m. 14v, William Tailor, Fleming est communis hospitator et receptor latronem et meretriicorum et aliorum malefactorum ad nocumento vicimus etc idem in mercia.
[983] NRO, Y/C 4/89 m. 12v.
[984] ADN B 1596 fol. 25r.

Flemish immigrants kept this stereotyped view of the suburb in London. In 1378, Eborardus fan Combe, Fleming was accused at the King's Bench court for the murder of Gilbert ate Nasse. After the enquiry, the jurors heard testimonies that the aforementioned Eborardus came to the stewes and had murdered Gilbert with the knife called baselard. The witnesses added that the aforementioned Eborardus was a known murderer and that he had already murdered 6 men in London, both English and Flemish and that one Beatrice Fustian, called 'Blake Bete' was adding and abating him in this murder. Eborardus was found guilty and thus hanged.[985] Even though it is not explicitly stated, the suggestive nickname added to Beatrice who helped him suggests that she might have been a keeper of the stew that operated as a brothel. Indeed, it was suggested that the stews as brothels were usually kept by women, more precisely by Flemish women. A Southwark stewhouse that was attacked during the Peasants' Revolt in 1381 might have been run by Flemish women. The sixteenth century chronicler John Stow explained that 'English people disdayned to be baudes. Froes of Flandres were women for that purpose.'[986] The poll tax particulars of Southwark show indeed that some Flemish women were probably employed as prostitutes. These returns include four people listed with the occupation stewmonger or hosteler and all of them having female servants with explicitly Flemish names such as Aughte Frowe who was a servant of Yenan Walshman.[987] One of them, Petrus Davy, a hosteler paid 5s with his wife Sote (Zoete). Obviously, his wife was Flemish and she might have been in charge of women.[988] Apart the ordinance from 1393 cited above, direct evidence linking Flemish women with stewhouses is available. In 1385, Lelia Blawer, wife of the late

[985] TNA, KB 27/470 m. 16d (rex).
[986] Cited in Karras, 'Brothels', p. 415-416.
[987] Fenwick, *Poll Tax 3*, p. 564.
[988] Ibid., p. 559.

Flemish dyer Peter Blawer, amongst other things, bequeathed a stewhouse at the Medelane (map 6) near river Thames at the parish St James Garlickhythe to her brother, John Ewersward, an immigrant from Zeeland and haberdasher of London.[989] It is not a stewhouse in Southwark, but it is just across the London Bridge and actually gives the first direct evidence of Flemish women as stew keepers in the fourteenth century. There is evidence that the Flemings held stews and acted as procurers in London also in the first half of the fifteenth century. In 1422, a Fleming, Gerard Clayson and his wife were indicted as receivers and maintainers of harlotry in their stewhouse at London Ward Cripplegate Without.[990]

Map 6: Medelane Street connected the river Thames with St James Garlickhythe church

[989] LMA MS 9171/1, fol. 137.
[990] *Memoranda Rolls IV*, p. 154.

We do not know much about the customers of the Flemish prostitutes in England, but we can assume that they consisted of those men to whom marriage and sex were out of range: young servants, transient merchants who would have visited towns without their wives, or priests.[991] For example in Colchester, according to the fragmentary evidence, the biggest clientele seems to have been from the clergy. Out of ten fines for prostitution or procuring, 5 of them involved priests. Thus for example Henry Fens and his wife were fined for receiving married priests and harlots at night.[992] In some cases, the town clerks are not as explicit as with Henry Fens and his wife. For example, in 1373, William, chaplain of St Mary's parish was fined for being a night vagrant and a violent person. Just underneath on the same roll, Thomas Underwood was fined for harbouring the same.[993] It is clear that the chaplain was visiting prostitutes, even though it is not stated. We can assume that both Henry Fens and his wife and Thomas Underwood had probably not held a brothel per se, but rather acted as middlemen for contact and providers of the place between the priests and prostitutes. Two other places in England where the evidence suggests that the most frequent visitors of prostitutes were clergymen, were Exeter and York.[994] Kowaleski had even found a case in the borough court of Exeter where a prostitute had brought a debt plea, and even won, against a priest for 'services' provided.[995]

We do not have much information about the clients of Flemish prostitutes in fourteenth century London and Great Yarmouth, but given the structures of population and the international economic activity, we can assume that the biggest bulk of the customers would be young apprentices and of course merchants visiting without their wives.

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[991] Karras, *Common Women*, p. 76-81.
[992] Benham, *Court Rolls III*, p. 53.
[993] Benham *Court Rolls III*, p. 31, for William see also Ibid., p. 17.
[994] Kowaleski, 'Women Exeter', p. 154; Goldberg, *Women, Work*, p. 145.
[995] Ibid.

Conclusions of the chapter

Even though Flemish women in England were mostly in the textile sector, this chapter has shown that they were not involved exclusively in the first stages of production and sale of cloth. It went beyond and demonstrated that immigrant women played an important role in urban economies. We have seen that they were not just followers of their husbands, but some of them dared to leave the Low Countries all alone and single in search of employment. Given the legal structure and impossibility for single women to acquire freedom and apprenticeship in crafts, most of those who emigrated alone probably ended as servants or even prostitutes. Nevertheless, the fact that they were ready to leave everything despite being single gives us another profile of the late medieval immigrant in addition to the young single man. On the other hand, women who came with their husbands were in a slightly better position be it in cloth or ale production or in prostitution. They were in the privileged position of the 'women's activities' as some of them managed to bring wool or ale for exports, however, they were not as privileged as male immigrants. Overall, this chapter presented the first insights of women immigrants' activities in medieval England and further research on these three towns and comparison with some others would certainly be required and possible.

Conclusions

The main focus of this thesis was to examine the impact of the immigrant community on the English economy, more precisely, the development of its cloth industry. We have seen that this study went even a little beyond economy and it touched upon other aspects of immigration and integration. The reason that we were able to do so is because the number of Flemish immigrants was a lot higher than it was previously thought and because of the great variety of sources that was used. Favourable economic conditions, such as availability of high quality wool, Crown's immigration policies, lack of workforce due to the Black Death, in the second half of the fourteenth century in England, made it possible for thousands of men and women from the Low Countries to come and settle in various towns of the kingdom. At the same time, political situation on the other side of the English Channel went hand in hand with these developments in England. The Flemish textile workers who decided to side with the English king in the Hundred Years war, and turn against the Francophile count, were subsequently exiled for eternity. Some of them already had contacts with the English capital and Great Yarmouth, however, most of them had probably found themselves in a completely new environment from any point of view. This must have especially been the case for those exiles that settled in Colchester, as this town's borough courts had seen no Fleming before 1351. The exile of well-to-do drapers from Flanders' most important textile centres reduced employment opportunities and made other textile workers leave to England on a voluntary basis as well. This emigration was not limited to weavers only, as was thought in previous studies. They were the most numerous to be banished, however, other craftsmen from the textile sector followed the path of exiled weavers. It is possible that the Flemish exiled weaver-drapers had a go-to business partners among the fullers, shearers and tailors before the banishment and that some of them

had naturally followed. Exiles were followed by their wives, but also by single women who both played an important role in the English economy.

It is still difficult to determine the way the immigrants from the Low Countries made choice of the town where they settled, but some conclusions might be observed. We have seen that Great Yarmouth had the biggest influx from Bruges and other coastal towns from the Low Countries. Whether it concerned fish or wool trade, merchants and fishermen from Great Yarmouth and the aforementioned towns on the other side of the English Channel were in tight contact even prior to 1351. Business partnerships from before the banishment were probably a determining point of the decision to settle in this port town and Norfolk in general. For London, it is obvious that as capital, it gave better employment opportunities. However, it seems that London was reserved principally for immigrants of better standing from Ghent, Bruges and Ypres. We have seen that those who settled in London fared a lot better than those in Colchester and Great Yarmouth from both economic and political point of view. The exiles in London produced the higher quality cloths and were the only ones, who settled in urban areas in England, to obtain the ordinances and organize themselves into a separate guild from the English weavers. When it comes to Colchester, it was certainly not a principal choice of the immigrants, but was chosen once they had arrived to England. Colchester's cloth-making industry was still in its first stages of development before 1350s and was certainly not on the European map as a textile centre during the biggest wave of influx of Flemish textile workers in 1351. Those who settled in Colchester probably made their decision once they were already on the English soil. Colchester was the first urban area on the east coast after the points of entry in Maldon and Manningtree. Flemings who debarked there might have stayed first in inns and taverns in Colchester before continuing inland in search of place where to settle, but afterwards

decided to stay there as they realized that the town possessed potential for growth in cloth manufacture.

Further considerations should be made in other towns and areas where traces of Flemish community were detected. Principally the industrial centre, based inland, the city of Coventry. Also, the market town of Exeter on the west coast with its voluminous borough court records should be investigated, together with the city of York that had a steady influx of immigrants from the Low Countries in the second half of the fourteenth century. These three towns have the surviving sources for the period of this study and it would be useful to check how many other exiles settled there, and from which parts of Flanders they were. This would definitely complement our story. Apart from these towns, some smaller areas with developing wool and cloth industries such as Sudbury, Clare, Henley, or Hadleigh might be taken into account. All four of these are close to London and Colchester and were in tight relationship when it comes to cloth production. It would be interesting to compare their manorial court records with the sources in London and Colchester and see whether the exiled Flemings were in contact directly with the wool growers or employed cloth-workers on a piece rate basis in rural areas. What is striking is that there was no case with Flemish immigrants who changed the city once they settled in England, even though Edward III gave them right to move freely within the kingdom.

Flemings seem to have stayed within the group of their fellow compatriots, when it comes to personal relationships. They also seem to have congregated in the same churches and had their own fraternities. However, even though they kept to themselves, they were still organized to a large extent in a manner that resembles the English lifestyle. For example, Flemish women produced ale and had the same occupations as the English women. The immigrants from the Low Countries made use of the English legal tools and administration in order to protect

themselves and their interests. The understanding of the legal system, especially of the petitions to the king, shows some kind of maturity that only those who adapted enough to the new country could do. Therefore, although the evidence suggests that the immigrants from the Low Countries stayed amongst themselves, they still adapted very well to the English rules and lifestyle. This had probably helped a lot to increase their success in the cloth production.

We have seen that one of the reasons for the rebels to aim the Flemings during the revolt of 1381 was the fact that the Flemings involved in textile industry were the most numerous and the most visible group of aliens to live in England. A bit before that, in 1379, a new revolt occurred in Flanders, more commonly known as the Ghent War. At the first instance, a lot of rebels, mostly textile workers, were exiled again and they probably 'reinforced' their fellow compatriots. It would be interesting to further investigate the exact number of exiles who migrated to English towns between 1379-81 and to shed some light whether the revolt in Flanders had any reflect on the rebels in England and their demands.

Some of the exiles returned to Flanders when general pardons were offered in 1359, and we have seen in chapter 1 that this usually produced a new wave of rebellions and again a return to England. The phenomenon of exiles that went back to Flanders was not that common. The remaining wills of the immigrants suggest that no return was considered in most of the cases. However, it might be of interest to explore the activities of those who accepted the pardon after their return. Indeed, check whether they returned into the same towns where they lived prior to exile, what was their perception by those who stayed and recognized them.

The massacre of Flemings in 1381 during the Peasants' Revolt had certainly not stopped the influx of immigrants in later periods and it is testified by the recently finished project led by Mark Ormrod. The present study filled some small lacunae in the history of immigration to

England with presentation of the pioneering movement of the fourteenth century emigration of workers as we imagine it nowadays.

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Appendix 1: List of Banished Rebels from Bruges 1351, 1361, 1367, 1369.

The following transcription is compiled from the Cartulary called Groenenboek, held at the city archives in Bruges. These are the copies of documents from 1351, 1361, 1367 and 1369, written in the fifteenth century hand, containing the names of people who were banished after the disturbances during the aforementioned years. The total number of rebels banished from Bruges in these lists is 1,042. If they are put together with 1500 rebels figuring on the list of pardons from 1359, transcribed in *Cartulaire des Artevelde*, we get quite a substantial number of exiled textile workers from Flanders during the 1350s and 1360s.

SAB Groenenboek C f°110r-118r

Up den IIII[en] dach van october anno LI, so waren die parsone die hier naer volghen utegheseid ten ghebode vander clocke op die halle daer mijn here van Vlaenderen zelve ende sijn raed ende scepenen van Brugghe voor oghen waren als over viande mijns heer, der stede, ende tghemeens lands ende nemmermeer binden lande te comene het ne ware bi willen van minen heere van sinen steden ende van al sinen lande, elc op zijn hooft te verbuerne, omme dat si aliencie gesocht hebben buten slandes in contraien ende in previdicien van minen heer van sinen vrienden ende van al sinen lande, ende sident dat mijn heer al vergheven hadde dat tjeghen hem mesdaen was, ende so wie diese huusde iof hoofden binden lande van Vlaendren, dat die gehouden ware van den zelven

1. Michiel van Assenede dictus vat
2. Lauwers Waye
3. Robrecht de Rouc
4. Willem Bateman
5. Pieter seer Aernouds
6. Jan Dadelare
7. Pieterkin Streeckaerd
8. Jan de But dictus van Leke
9. Lammin de Jonghe
10. Jan van Aeltre
11. Jan van Langhevoorde
12. Pieter van Heurssele
13. Jan Moenaerd
14. Pieterkin van Zwevesele
15. Jan van Gavere dictus Helsene
16. Jacob van Ziessele
17. Loy van Lenscote
18. Claeis van Zeerkengheem
19. Lamsin de Keyser
20. Gillis de Pape
21. Jan van Trieren
22. Colaerd de Kelsiedere
23. Gillis de Coning
24. Joris de Rovere
25. Aernout vanden Wielkine
26. Moenin de Vos
27. Pieter Wijt
28. Baudet van Lake
29. Jan Wormhont dictus Buekelare
30. Hannin Uuten Riede
31. Hannin Biesebout met ere hand
32. Lamsin van Keyheem
33. Lamsin Feys
34. Jan Veldacker die bailgiu was ten Houtschen
35. Gheeraerd van Lo
36. Joos de Keiser

37. Jacob van Winghene filius Jan van Winghene
38. Jan van Winghene filius Jan van Winghene
39. Clais van Winghene filius Jan van Winghene
40. Lamsin Haghelsteen
41. Jan vander Rehaghe
42. Willem Diederix
43. Christiaen Sceefbeen
44. Jan vanden Dike de vulre
45. Zegher Castelein
46. Jan Tinke
47. Wouter van Ansame
48. Jacop van den Driesche
49. Gillis Roodsaerd
50. Jan Ghentelin
51. Jan de Zot de Jonghe
52. Clais Laudaet
53. Pieter vande Rehaghe
54. Jacop Cortebrugghe
55. Lamsin de Vos
56. Jan Scone Jans
57. Jacop Veys
58. Jan van Coukelare f. veragheten
59. Gillis van Coudebrouc
60. Jacop Witte Bolle
61. Gillis Hooft f. ser Wouters
62. Gillis Lam
63. Pieter Gabbaerd
64. Bernaerd Gallin
65. Jan Roodsaerd Doude
66. Jacop vanden Abele
67. Jan Duetel
68. Heinric vanden Muelne
69. Christiaen Locgaerd
70. Pieter de Terningmakere
71. Boudin Snidewind
72. Wouter Vizael
73. Pieter Ybeloot
74. Pieter Spore dictus Moyt
75. Jan de Werd Doude
76. Henric Vluegaerd
77. Rignaerd Gallin
78. Boudin Wenins
79. Olivier Veldacker
80. Jan van Orscamp dictus man
81. Jan van der Mane
82. Jan van den Hoghenweghe
83. Maertin zijn broedere
84. Jacop van Beernheem (Claikin Beernehem, poorter is pardoned)
85. Pieter Uten Wissele
86. Jan de Waerd de Jonchere
87. Wouter Dommel
88. Willem de Vriend
89. Gillis Hooft disercoopere
90. Jan van Cranenburch
91. Jan Moyt
92. Lauwers Moyt
93. Symoen Dabt
94. Hannin Mansel
95. Mathijs vander Scuere
96. Pieter Puetin
97. Gillis Brantin
98. Michiel Balewaerd
99. Jan Maertin de Wevere
100. Hannin van Spaengen
101. Pieter Beyaerd
102. Clais Dedding
103. Coppin van Lo
104. Coppin vanden Driesche
105. Jan van Lisseweghe de ionghe
106. Jan aderic de ionghe
107. Jan van Ghent
108. Jan van Sinte Cruus de Jonghe
109. Jan Melgewaerd vanden berghe
110. Jan van Lo
111. Pieter van Sceepstale dictus leestkin
112. Pieter Knye (Maes 1359)
113. Joos Hemelrike
114. Gheerkin van den Eechoute
115. Jan Potterkin
116. Pieter Joye
117. Willem de Maerscalc
118. Coppin van Oudenburch
119. Coppin Lam Willems
120. Jan de Knuut
121. Gheerkin Immeloot
122. Hannekin Rycquaerds
123. Andries Joiaerd
124. Pieter van der scelle
125. Martin vander Scelle
126. Christiaen Bertolf
127. Heinric de Meyere
128. Christiaen Pec
129. Meeus de Hoyere
130. Jan van Artrike de Meseeus

131. Hannin vander Helpe dictus Grave
132. Fierin Bibau
133. Hannekin vander Duve
134. Jan Loud
135. Jan van Oudenburch sonder Zorghe
136. Pieter van Zwevesele
137. Hannin Moenins de Boetere
138. Jacop de Coc de Boetere
139. Hannin van den Steene de Wevere (Jan 1359)
140. Gillekin de Melkere dictus Aermeziele
141. Hannekin Dobbelrose / (Gillis 1359)
142. Jan f. Clais Maes
143. Boudin van Trieren
144. Clais de Crudenare
145. Willem de Coning
146. Jan Everaerd de Makelare van Colen
147. Wouter Bulc
148. Jan de Crudenare
149. Meeus vander Leye
150. Jacop Bonthond
151. Lauwers de Hond de Wulleslare
152. Pieterkin de Smet der Stede Gaersoen Was
153. Jacob Dabt
154. Jan Gallin
155. Pauwels Bode vander Vischmaerct
156. Jan van Male de Vulre
157. Jacop de Deken
158. Pieter Gallin f. Jans
159. Jan van Ypre f. Jacops
160. Jan van Oudenburch de Selversmit (his son 1359 Coppin)
161. Pieter van Ghistele die Scaerwettere
162. Boudin Bret
163. Hannin van Biervliet
164. Coppin van Ghent
165. Jan van Ghent
166. Coppin Willaerd
167. Hannekin de Mandemakere
168. Hannin de Beere
169. Coppin van den Walle de ionghe timerliede
170. Jan vanden Walle de Jonghe timerliede
171. Coppin Benne
172. Jan van Assenede de Bonte
173. Jacop Sobbe
174. Jan Duvekin
175. Michiel Cornelis
176. Jan Beerhout f. Claus
177. Gillis van Bassevelde dictus Maes
178. Jan Ravens f. Martins
179. Pieter Aechte
180. Lamsin Winne dictus Muelnare
181. Jan Zelverin
182. Theeus Vande Rehaghe
183. Clais de Kersghietere Doude
184. Jan Vizael
185. Jan van Arssebrouc
186. Alaerd De poortere dictus Rikebake
187. Heynekin Quintin
188. Lammekin Vanden Riede
189. Jan vanden Riede
190. Jacop Sine
191. Sentkin de Scuetelare
192. Arnoud de Buf
193. Rike Musche
194. Jan Boele
195. Pieter Denaerd
196. Jan de Veltere
197. Elond Bune
198. Danin vanden Velde
199. Michiel van Stuutvelde
200. Roeger Coopal of Clapal
201. Gillis van Wackene
202. Jan Cricke Doude
203. Jan Oem Willems
204. Clais Oem Willems
205. Wouter Blijfhier
206. Jan Caepoud Doude
207. Jan Caepoud de Ionghe
208. Lauwers Vluegaerd
209. Hannin van Oostburch (Jan 1359)
210. Aernoud Broeder
211. Ghijs van Lo
212. Pieter Diederic f. Jans
213. Naes Karstinman
214. Hannin de Keyser f. Clais
215. Lauwers Roodsaerd
216. Pieter van Coolkercke de Scerre
217. Clais van Zeland
218. Lamsin de Coning
219. Jan Minne f. Jans
220. Willem van Axele

221. Lamsin Veys
222. Willem Varshinc
223. Gillis Moerhinc
224. Rike Gallin
225. Lippin van Slipen
226. Colin Edelman
227. Tideman de Vos
228. Pieter Boomgaerd
229. Hannin Laudaet
230. Jan Teunis
231. Kielaerd Tinke
232. Boudekin Veldacker
233. Jan de Man f. Seer Pieters
234. Wouter de Keyser
235. Pieter Everaerd
236. Wouter Laudaet
237. Pieter Refin
238. Hannin de Doelre f. Hueghs
239. Jan vander Lanterne
240. Diederic Ketelhoed
241. Franse van Jabbeke
242. Christiaen vander Scelle
243. Hannekin Sarrasijn f. Maes
244. Gherard vande Dwerstrate?
245. Jan van Oudenburch f. Jans
246. Willem Lam
247. Jan van Ansebeke f. Clais
248. Pieter Veltacker
249. Pieter van Maerkijs
250. Jan van Pedsebrouck
251. Zegher van Poelvoorde
252. Jan Care
253. Lamsin de Sceppere
254. Willem van Oorscamp
255. Claikin de Bedelare
256. Jan de Moor f. Jans
257. Lauwers zijn Broeder
258. Wouterkin Moordonc
259. Coppin Steen de Wevere
260. Lippin Teurnekin graenwere tauwer
261. Jan Coene graenwere tauwer
262. Jan van Bredene graenwere tauwer
263. Coppin de Vriese graenwere tauwer
264. Wouter de Verse
265. Jan vander Niewerpoort, Scheerder
266. Ghildolf vander Houte Scheerder
267. Ghiselin van Vinct Scheerder
268. Claikin vanden Driesche dictus Royaelkin
269. Michiel Lauwers
270. Joos van den Dike
271. Hannekin de Vos f. Jans
272. Hannin van Cortrike
273. Pieter upt Hoghe
274. Coppin Tienpond
275. Jan de Clerc de Hudevettere
276. Jacop van Jabbeke Doude Cleet-Coopere
277. Willem Cosijn
278. Jan de Besemmakere
279. Hannin dictus Paedse
280. Jan van der Naelde
281. Pieter vanden Vivere
282. Wouter Landaet
283. Willem vander Lo wevere
284. Pieter de Gast wevere
285. Jan de Vinc de Witledertau-Were
286. Coppin van Vinc sijn broeder
287. Boudekin Veltacker de Vulre
288. Claikin van Asschen de Vulre
289. Jan de Rode f. Meester Pieters van Zunnebeke
290. Hannin Corthals
291. Hannin Spinrocke
292. Claekin van Cruninghem wulleslare
293. Roegear Fallaes wulleslare
294. Jacop de Coning de Hudevettere
295. Jacop Wouterman
296. Willem de Walcherling (Jan 1359)
297. Pieter Hancke
298. Martin Karstinman de Strikere
299. Willem vanden Hille Doude
300. Jan Pelewelling
301. Willan de Bey
302. Clais de Wankere
303. Michiel van Oudenburch
304. Jan Aderic Doude
305. Jan van Oudenburch Dictus van Colemiers
306. Pieter Hildebrant de zwerteledertauwere
307. Jan van Praet
308. Jan Stoorm de Wijnmetere
309. Jan van Lopheem
310. Jan Reingoot
311. Jan de Rode
312. Pieter Wouters
313. Gille de Hond

314. Jan van Zoetenay
315. Herreman van Hinchoud
316. Rike Curre
317. Wouter Coolsaet
318. Jan Quareid
319. Wouter de Haerst
320. Gillis de Mueselare
321. Jacop vander Rehaghe
322. Joos Heeme
323. Symoen de Wide
324. Pieter van Scaerpenessen
325. Jan Dommel f. Wouters
326. Clement van Coukelare
327. Coppin van Vinct dictus van Zeverne
328. Renier Chapelain
329. Jan Rose
330. Meeus Moenin
331. Andries Blondekin
332. Pieter Gallin
333. Groote Michiel
334. Wouter Hooft f. Ser Jans
335. Pauwelin Matte
336. Ghildolf Joosep
337. Clais Daniels
338. Jacop de Grant
339. Clais de Meestere
340. Pieter de Bul
341. Pieter de Mommelare
342. Jan Bolleman
343. Jan van Wackene
344. Pieterkin Streckaerd
345. Clais de Zoutere
346. Martin Coopmans f. Ser Martins
347. Joris Bortoen
348. Jan van Bassevelde f. Clais
349. Clais Coopman f. Martins
350. Coppin Danijd
351. Jan de Moor
352. Jan de Drussate
353. Michiel Rose
354. Christiaen de Mesmakere
355. Hannakin van Coolkercke f. Wouters
356. Jan de Grant
357. Coppin Daniels
358. Pauwels van Muelnebeke
359. Michiel van Muelnebeke
360. Martin van Jabbeke
361. Lammekin Bredebolle
362. Renier de Lombaerd
363. Jan Rose
364. Gillis Stankin de Vulre
365. Magherman Seer Jans knape van Couckelare
366. Maes Aderic
367. Hannin Heile
368. Hannin van Zeland
369. Wouter de Ruddere
370. Moenin Meestercoc
371. Hine van Zwevesele
372. Coppin van Zwevezele f. Claren
373. Jan Melgewaerd
374. Hannin Sarrefijn f. Jans
375. Robin Loddier
376. Pieter van den Driessche
377. Hannin Aloud
378. Mewelin Daens
379. Willekin Vander Cappelle
380. Clais Paelding
381. Boudin van Ardenburch
382. Willem van Praet
383. Willem Drinkaluut

De nomre van dese banenghe noemde personen bedraghen in ghetale III^{c} LXXXIII (383

Polotieke charters, 1^{e} reeks, nr. 497

The above 383 names, that appear as the fifteenth century copy in Groenenboek, are registered in Politieke charters as well in the same order. However, the following names are only in the Politieke charters.

1. Pieter le Pape
2. Jaqueme Bollin
3. Quintin Dankaerd
4. Jehan le Vos f. …
5. Hannekin le Vos ses fier
6. Jehan vandenbourgh f. Jan

7. Jehan Spore
8. Jehan le Stier
9. Pieter de Ste Crois le Jouene
10. Hannekin Clai
11. Hannekin de Courtray
12. Hannekin le Ruddere f. Huon
13. Pieter Medinoghe de Jonghe
14. Sandres Craye Sanders
15. Jan Aderic de Vielx
16. Willemme Checouke
17. Jehan de Zomerghem
18. Heinryc van Gotheem
19. Gheraerd li Roys
20. Pieter Everaerd
21. Leurenc le Scotelare
22. Pieter Hildebrand
23. Jehan Baes
24. Jehan le Clerc
25. Thumas Stalpt?
26. Jehan de Praet
27. Jehan Quaethane f. Jehans
28. Jehan le Landshere
29. Jehan de Liere
30. Jehan li Sages dictus Ostburgh
31. Baudin de Colkerke f. Levins
32. Franch Snieuien
33. Lamsin dele Lys
34. Lexis le Sceppere
35. Pieter f. Langhegheraerds
36. Jehan Adelaerd
37. Wautier de Leke
38. Robin de Mons
39. Jehan de Lo
40. Willaume Uten Coten
41. Vroomkin de Straten le Jouene
42. Willaume de Siesele dictus Hellenaghe
43. Pieter Dardembourgh
44. Jehan Denys
45. Pieter Pool
46. Arnoud Pool
47. Caprike li Foulon
48. Willaume Gherolf
49. Jaqueme Gherolf
50. Jehan Gherolf
51. Jehan le Lappe
52. Lonis Le Bourghque
53. Jehan de Dudsele f. Jehan
54. Clai le Riemakere Dictus Leu
55. Stasin Banin li Vielx
56. Stasin Banin li Jouene
57. Thumas Knie
58. Jehan de la Chapele
59. Jehan Ballinq li Foulon
60. Clai Cheneye
61. Pieter Boudz le tisseran
62. Jakene Weynins
63. Nicole Weynins
64. Wille Dele Bussce
65. Nicoles Ackerman
66. Jehan Hulle li Foul
67. Jehan le Rochlare
68. Pieter de Zevencote
69. Pieter de Sante Croys
70. Jehan Wullepond
71. Wauter Loue li Fourier
72. Hanin de Gand
73. Willem Adelaerd Li Tisseran
74. Pieter Ruebin Li Foul
75. Coppin Gallin Li pissonier
76. Jehan Massemijn
77. Jehan Dansebeke f. Sire Gille
78. Jequeme de Stachille li Vielx
79. Weynin f. Arnoul
80. Pol de Leffinghe
81. Lamsin Yperlinc

Les personnes chi apres nommés sont bannit par loy et par jugement des echevins de la ville de Bruges sur estre justichiet de leur corps et lez vie perdre pour che que il ont fait esmeut tes rebellions et conspirations dedens la dicte ville et pays de Flandre contre d ? contre notre te ? et redoutet roi et prinche et contre les boins gens dont plusiours ottisions hommicides mutilations sen sont en suevit en plusieurs manieres, chest a savoir

1. Jehans Maldehem li fevre
2. Lamsin li Ruems li cordouanier
3. Jehans van der Holst dit Baraed
4. Jehans de Varsenare fevre
5. Jehans Melghewaerd tisserans
6. Daniel Leire cordouanier
7. Jehans Oestelmare cordouanier
8. Gossins Splecce cotourier
9. Jaquemes Veys tisserans
10. Lamsin Sceperre tanere
11. Pierres Wouter tanere conleriers
12. Jehan de le Zwijnehaghe tisserans
13. Pierres li Roi Viesvarier
14. Jehans du Croissant tonderes
15. Gillis Lam
16. Gillis Berempoet tisserans
17. Jehan Everart cordouanier
18. Clais Zweije hurhuies
19. Jaquemes de le Vniege conelier
20. Michiel Cornelis houihies
21. Joris Duvekin houhies
22. Gilles Ghijs barbier
23. Clais li Vos parmentier
24. Jehans Losekin tiserans
25. Jehans Ravens fil Martins hourhies

Up den IX dach van septembre ano LXI

26. Willems du Pont
27. Jehans Berout fils Nicolai houchies
28. Boudins li Grise houchies
29. Gerard de Lo tonderes
30. Andreus Houikere cordouanier
31. Gillis de Breda cordouanier
32. Pierres de Risele cordouanier
33. Jehans de Wachtere cordouanier
34. Jaqueme de Lo
35. Lamsin Cornelis houchiers
36. Woutre Vule
37. Jehans f. Gillis dict. Slonaert
38. Jehan du Dam tailleur
39. Lamsin le Lievre tailleur
40. Jehans Maes filius Pieron tisserans
41. Jaqueme van Naelde bastard tisserans
42. Willem le Jaghere foulon et barbier
43. Gillis Veldacker folons
44. Pierres Tollin cordouanier
45. Pol de Assenede

Up den XIIII dach van Septembre LXI

46. Jehans Godevard tisserans ou folons
47. Woutre Moocgher folons
48. Johan de Sperille cordouanier
49. Michiel Ponriment cordouanier
50. Tristrans Ghijs barbier
51. Pierres de Thielt tisserans
52. Philips de Lewe fever
53. Jehans Daens cordouanier
54. Colin Duvekin houchier
55. Pierres le Mor seman fevre
56. Jehan de Naelde
57. Jehan Rapegheer cordouanier
58. Lievin le Hert meedeghereeder
59. Daniel le Mol barbier
60. Pierres le Smit f. Pieter tisserans
61. Christian Hildrichem condour
62. Jehan le Walsche canderlier
63. Jaqueme Drieghe canderlier
64. Pierres du Fosset canderlier
65. Pierres li Cuiet conletier
66. Lamsin d Colkerke dit scuerzac folons

67. Loy van den Oede anketonier
68. Anthonie Grant Christian ? de bourses
69. Amand de Assche folons
70. Jaqueme de Saint Crois fevre
71. Willem Cousijn Kendeilleur
72. Jehan de oostborch dit le sag candelier
73. Jehan Rose candelier
74. Jehan du Fosset candelier
75. Jehan van de velde
76. Jaqueme de Tielt fevre
77. Lamsin de Sainte Crois fevre
78. Jehan Poitevine
79. Robin Melleward candelier
80. Willem Balleke dit de Lichtervelde
81. Jehan de Ronde cordouanier
82. Ghildolf Roel houchies
83. Henri de Ghelre cordouanier
84. Francois de Brune cordouanier
85. Pierres Strite cordouanier
86. Jehan le Roi fil Gherard cordouanier
87. Jehan le Chien
88. Clais Strobant cordouanier
89. Jehan Rijx tisserans
90. Jehan de Lo tisserand
91. Jehan le Meestre tisserand
92. Lippin van Sceepstale tisserand
93. Clais de Wisant tisserand
94. Michiel de Stitvelde dit Stupart tisserand
95. Willems de Hofstede boulanger
96. Henri du Mond boulanger
97. Willems du Ham boulanger
98. Jehan le Blawere boulanger
99. Jaquemes le Carpentier boulanger
100. Jehan Wijtsghate cordouanier
101. Jehan de le Tour tanneur
102. Michiel de le Mote fevre

Le 28^{e} jour de septembre 1361 elc vi jaer

103. Jehan de Mendonc
104. Nicoles de Colkerke poingier
105. Willem de Miesport fasent dank ?
106. Andrier de le Cappelle cordouanier
107. Pierres Teises
108. Lamsin de Wachtere
109. Pol Bode
110. Ormone Cranekin
111. Clais Pas
112. Jehan Vranke
113. Maes de Coppenolle
114. Clais Wenis fil Piters houchier
115. Clais Wenis fil Clais houchier
116. Gabriel de Maldeghem
117. Jehan de Buurt
118. Theeus de Zomergheem
119. Clais le Makelare f. Clais
120. Mestre Jehan Jomineel dit de le Crois barbier
121. Jehan Brandijs candelier
122. Willems vallet Jehans de Maldegheem fevre
123. Philips de Wissighem
124. Feins van der Matte tisserans
125. Jehan Pacelin tisserans
126. Pierres Aloud folons
127. Andrieu Bodekin
128. Giselin Coudscuere folon
129. Willems Adighem folon
130. Jehan de Redelem f. Marote tisserans
131. Jehan Aket tondeur a grande forche
132. Lamsin Gheleman
133. Jaqueme Lam tisserans
134. Willems Coudscuere
135. Jehan Daens tisserans
136. Copin Baderel
137. Michiel Goethrouc dit bon enfant
138. Pierres Wadepoel
139. Heine de Caestre vieswarier
140. Lievin de Bare
141. Phillip Canon conletier
142. Jehan de Caetselare tisserans
143. Clais van den Weghe lanie
144. Willem de Wyt couletrer
145. Jehan le Zelverin

146. Jehan le Vos tisserans
147. Pierres de Namur folon
148. Pol du Vos tailleur de draps
149. Daniel van den Wale faiseur danketons
150. Hannin Moens faiseur des bourses
151. Hannin le Bitre
152. Woutier le Vieswairier
153. Giles le Mostre couletier
154. Jehan de Leke f. Marie
155. Jehan Loscart broutrier
156. Theeus Brouteur
157. Coppin le Pappe
158. Pierres du Chelier
159. Coppin de le Chappelle tisserans
160. Jehan de Daverlo tisserans
161. Katherine Zorgheloos
162. Jehan de Breede
163. Gilles Wideleman
164. Willems de Kieldracht
165. Jehan van den Vorne
166. Pierres le Fevre lanie tisserans
167. Willems Calfnel
168. Mestre Jehan le Bliec barbier
169. Simon de Baillene
170. Jehan Michiel vallet Michiel de le Motte
171. Jehan Goetghenoot tisserand
172. Jehan de le Mote tisserand
173. Jehan de Capelle dit le conte tisserand
174. Pierres Frere tisserand
175. Hannekin de Cappellebrouc tisserand
176. Jehan le Brouckere tisserand
177. Pierres Spore dit Moye tisserand
178. Clais Brand cordouanier
179. Jehan Nulanamie ?
180. Cent Kempe
181. Pierres de Drivere cordouanier
182. Lievin de Ichtighem
183. Jehan Collin
184. Jehan de Cupre cordouanier
185. Jehan Wuitghate
186. Jehan Dec
187. Willem de Zuttere cordouanier
188. Pacelin de Oudembourg
189. Jehan Flameng tisserans
190. Wouter Ruwersinere vis
191. Jehan Bile vis
192. Gillis de Werd tisserans
193. Jehan le Werd tisserans
194. Jehan Moyt poigneur de maisons
195. Theeus Frere folon
196. Pierres Namur folon
197. Lamsin Colkerke folon
198. Jehan le Blondere folon
199. Gillem Everard
200. Jehan f. Riquard cordouanier
201. Pieterkin de Sceepstale
202. Jehan de Marc boulangier
203. Jehan Lotin boulangier
204. Pierres Tasin fondeur de candeilles
205. Leuxis ou Leuxens de Mots fevre
206. Pierres le Onghereede mannier
207. Henry de Heyman
208. Jehan Muike
209. Coppin de Bassevelde dit porteur de Koessins
210. Clais Tibelin tisserans
211. Jehan de Tielt chanetier
212. Pierres le Lepelare
213. Pierres le Gentil
214. Wulfrant de Saint Jaqueme
215. Pierres de Saint Amand
216. Jaqueme foundeur de Klokes
217. Lamsin le Wachtre f. Pierron faiseur de pots destain
218. Jehan Labbe

Den XXVIII ??? LXIIII van tensemente

219. Jehan le Chien tisserans
220. Jehan Hameman tisserans
221. Jehan le Blawere
222. Gherard Clot ou Cloot tailleur de draps
223. Jehan de Rumbeke boulangier

224. Riquart Staltin tailleur de draps
225. Jehan de Grawelinghe boulangier
226. Boudekin Grijse f. Boudin
227. Jehan Bollekin fondeur de candeilles
228. Wouter Coolzaet folon
229. Andrieu Blondekin lanie folon
230. Wautier le Mercier
231. Ruebekin de le Wale
232. Jehan de le Wale
233. Willem Colpart
234. Jehan f. Boudin
235. Godevart le Cnoc
236. Alaerd f. Henry fasaint les bourses
237. Jehan Losekin f. Jaqueme Losekin tisserans
238. Jehan de Ghistele tisserans
239. Thieri de Maldeghem tisserans
240. Jehan de le Sachele fondeur de bol
241. Jehan de Pape sommeur de klokes
242. Ormone Frere
243. Coppin de Oudembourgh
244. Coppin Deboud
245. Jehan Walop
246. Jehan de Vrien ? foulon
247. Jakeme Coene carpentier
248. Jehan Trise dit boulangier
249. Jehan Hoyere broeder Jans
250. Jehan le Teghelare
251. Guille Guiselin
252. Jehan Scilleman
253. Guille le Tensere
254. Woutier le Haerst teinturier
255. Josses Slipen
256. Pol Stolpart tisserans
257. Willem de Ruesselare fevre
258. Jehan le Jomme soient le Vos
259. Jehan Veltaker
260. Gilles de Daverlo cordouanier
261. Clais Coppiere f. Jehans
262. Jehan de Thoroud qui fu begars
263. Woutier de le Mine cordouanier
264. Pierres de Thoroud tisserans
265. Simon de Smontere
266. Jaqueme Brant cordouanier
267. Willem Keyt cordouanier
268. Simon Tolfin tisserans
269. Pierres Calewart cordouanier
270. Pierres Tollin cordouanier
271. Jehan Danid cordouanier
272. Elisabette femme Jehan Oosterman
273. Coppin le Barbier de Saint Omer
274. Jehan de Maldegheem cordouanier
275. Henry de Maldigheem
276. Guille Rose tisserant
277. Jaqueme Dulle cordouanier
278. Boudin Tuesaet cordouanier
279. Pol le Ruts
280. Guille de Drayere
281. Jehan ver Johan
282. Jehan le Vos
283. Pierres Cortebrueghe f. Jehan
284. Jehan Zeeman cordouanier
285. Christian le Stamere cordouanier
286. Pierres le Guester cordouanier
287. Lievin vallet de Jehan Oosterman
288. Guille Bijl porteur de carbons
289. Coppin Wautier Weits
290. Jehan de Boodt
291. Coppin de Thueet faiseur du ?
292. Gherkin Vanghelin
293. Guille Casin
294. Philips Colpart
295. Pierres Moordost
296. Gillis Slimpin
297. Hectoor de Wachtere machon
298. Jehan le But machon
299. Jehan le Vos dit Veys
300. Jehan Reiment
301. Belle Goedinghes
302. Jehan de Saint Trude
303. Lem le Mersier
304. Philip Oste
305. Willem van den Hille f. Wautier
306. Jehan Diere
307. Henri le Grise
308. Lamsin Goetweet

309. Ormone de Dordrecht dit Mont
310. Gilles de Hasebrouc
311. Jehan de Merendre
312. Jehan le Ruevelmakere
313. Pieter Maes
314. Hanse qui ot le fille Jorge Heldebolle
315. Lamsin Crippinc viswarier
316. Gillis de Keyheem
317. Sohier du Vos tondeur de Gand
318. Jehan le Simersake fevre
319. Daniel Mande
320. Michiel le Mol
321. Sohier del Atre
322. Andreu le Hamer f. Jehan
323. Laurens Smalaert
324. Manassis Ruevolin
325. Jehan le Vos porteur du poisson
326. Coppin Losscart
327. Pierres le Frison
328. Coppin de Assenede houchier
329. Jehan Maes tisserans
330. Jehan Munekin manier
331. Jehan le Raed f. Simons
332. Christian Ribout tailleur de draps
333. Pierres Markijs folon
334. Leurens le Man f. Pieron
335. Wouter Colzaet folon
336. Clais Muilaert folon
337. Meeus Melgeward folon
338. Loy van den Oede faiseur danketous
339. William de le Lepe
340. Pierres de Calkere mester descole
341. Pierres Gerard carpentier
342. Jehan le Bitere viswarier
343. Jehan Piereman maronier
344. Jaquemes de Ledeghe carpentier
345. Jehan Buf tisserans de lin
346. Pieres Lormier
347. Jaqueme le Boulangier tisserans
348. Pierres de Graweninghe boulangier
349. Thierri de Wy tailleur de draps
350. Daniel van den Walle faiseur de danketons
351. Henin de Zelande
352. Boudin de Grave ommireur de cordes
353. Pierres le Vos viswarier
354. Jehan Stelart
355. Guille le Ruede
356. Pierres le Hardere
357. Jehan de le Wastine le mercier
358. Jehan le Weerd tailleur des bourses
359. Jehan de Ruede cordouanier
360. Jehan Wampnet folon
361. Oernoul Sohier dit cormuit
362. Coppin Musebek mannier
363. Pierres de Loden maronier
364. Pierres de le Hane f. Ernoul van Lichtervelde
365. Jehan Wanimot foulon
366. Ghiselin Coudescuere foulon
367. Jehan de Strates bastart
368. Lievin del Angele faiseur de pourpoing
369. Hannekin le Marissal

Le nombre de personnes ci-dessus specifiez montent a iiiC LXXI

Collacionne…

De personnen die men hier naer nomen sal die seit men ute van meins here halven van Vlaendren ende van scepenen halven vyanden myns here van Vlaendren ende zijns ghemeens lands nemer meer binden landen van Vlanderen te comene het en zy bij consente ende wille van mijn here van Vlandren ende van sinen ghemeente lande, elc up zijn hooft. Actum scrivdaechs den xx dach van oust int jaer m iiic lxvii scepenen Jan van Risele Joris van Tielt

370. Clais van Coolkerke de schilder

371. Willem Meuwerpoort de porpointstickere
372. Andries de Cappelle cordouanier
373. Pieter Trise de handscoenwerker
374. Lamsin de Wachtere
375. Arnout Cranekin vander Vismaerkt
376. Jan Vranke
377. Maes van Coppenholle
378. Clais Weins
379. Clais Weins vleeshouwers
380. Gabriel van Maldengheem
381. Jan van Buict
382. Hannekin van Dudsele de peinre
383. Meester Jan Tomineel dictus van der Cruse baerdmakere
384. Jan Brandijs de Ketelare
385. Willem Jans Knape van Maldegheem smeds
386. Philips van Wisheem
387. Theeus van Zomeergeem
388. Feins van der Matte wever
389. Jan Pacelin wever
390. Pieter Aloud vulre
391. Andries Bodekin
392. Ghiselin Coudscuere
393. Willem van Adegheem vulre
394. Jan van Hoedeleem f. Maro
395. Jan Aket scerer
396. Lamsin Gheyleman
397. Jacop Lam wever
398. Willem Coudscuere
399. Jan Daens wever
400. Coppin Badereel wulleslaer
401. Michiel Goedjonc doctus Goedkint wulleslaer
402. Pieter Waedpoel
403. Heine van Caestre houdcleercopere
404. Lievin de Baerd
405. Philip Cannoen makelare
406. Willem Wyt makelare
407. Jan van Catselare wever
408. Clais van den Weghe doude
409. Jan de Zelverine
410. Jan van den Busche wever
411. Pieter van Namen vulre
412. Pauwels van den Busche sceper
413. Danijn van den Walle culcstriker
414. Hannin Moens buersemakere
415. Hanin de Bitre
416. Woutre doude Graeuwereker
417. Gillis de Meestre makelare
418. Jan van Leke f. ver Marien
419. Jan Losshaert cardewaghemeruder
420. Theeus de Pijnre
421. Coppin de Pape de peinre
422. Pieter uten Kelnare
423. Coppin van der Cappelle wever
424. Jan van Daverlo wever
425. Catheline Zorgheloos
426. Jan de Breede
427. Gillis Wideleman
428. Willem van Kieldracht
429. Jan van den Vorne
430. Pieter de Smit doude wever
431. Willem Calfnol f. Willems riemakkere
432. Meester Jan de Wioc baerdmaekere
433. Symoen van Belle
434. Jan Michiel knape van den Walle
435. Jan Goedghenoot wever
436. Hanin van den Walle wever
437. Jan van der Cappelle wever
438. Pieter Broeder wever
439. Hannekin van Cappellebrouc wever
440. Jan de Brouckere wever
441. Pieter Spore dictus Moye wever
442. Clais Brand cordouanier
443. Jan Mulamene?
444. Cent Kempe
445. Pieter de Divere cordouanier
446. Lievin van Jchtenghem
447. Hannin Tollin
448. Jan de Cuppre cordouanier
449. Jan van den Wintgate
450. Jan Dec
451. Willem de Zuttre cordouanier

452. Pasin van Oudenburch
453. Jan Vlaminc wever
454. Wouter Ruwescnere oudwercker
455. Hanin Bile oudwerker
456. Gillis de Weerd wever
457. Jan de Weerd wever
458. Hannin Moite
459. Theeus Broeder vulre
460. Peter van Namen vulre
461. Lamsin van Coolkerke vulre
462. Jan de Blonder vulre
463. Gillis Everard
464. Jan f. Riquards cordouanier
465. Pieterkin van Sceepstale
466. Jan Maet backer
467. Jan Lotin backer
468. Pieter Casin keersegnieter
469. Lueris of Laurens de Smit van Mot
470. Pieter Donghereede molinar
471. Heine van Heiman
472. Heine Muike
473. Coppin van Bassevelde dictus de carsdragher
474. Clais Tibelin wever
475. Jan van Tielt oudstromakere
476. Pieter de Lepelare
477. Pieter van Edelmic
478. Wullfrand van Sint Jacobs
479. Pieter van St Andries
480. Jacop de Clorchnote
481. Lamsin de Wachter f. Pieters
482. Jan de Abt
483. Jan Walop
484. Jan van Vuren vulre
485. Gillis Gherard vulre
486. Jacop Coene
487. Jan Trise dictus de baker
488. Jan de Hoyere f. broeder Jans
489. Jan de Teghelare
490. Willem Ghiselin
491. Jan Schileman
492. Willem de Toyzere
493. Willem de Haerst barbier
494. Joos van Slipen
495. Pauwels Stalpart wever
496. Willem van Ruesselare smit
497. Jan de Jonghe zagher
498. Jan Veltacker
499. Gillis van Daverlo cordwainer
500. Clais Coppin f. Jans
501. Jan van Thoroud de begare was
502. Wouter van den Mude cordouanier
503. Pieter van Thoroud wever
504. Simon de Smontre
505. Jacob Brand cordwainer
506. Willem Keyt cordwainer
507. Moenin Tolfin wever
508. Pieter Calewaert cordvainer
509. Pieter Collin cordouanier
510. Jan Danijt cordouanier
511. Lijsebette Jan Oostermans wijf
512. Coppin de Baerdmakere van St Omaers
513. Jan van Maldegheem cordouanier
514. Heyne van Maldegheem
515. Willem Rose wever
516. Jacop Dulle
517. Boudin Toyzart cordouanier
518. Pauwels Cuts smit
519. Willem de Drayere
520. Jacob Scone Jan
521. Jan de Vos lormier
522. Pieter Cortebrueghe f Jans
523. Jan Zeeman
524. Christian de Scavere cordouanier
525. Pieter de Guestre cordouanier
526. Lievin Jan Oostermaers knape
527. Willem Byl de cooldraghere
528. Coppin Woutier Weits
529. Jan de Boodt
530. Coppin van Treet de scoenmakere
531. Gherkin Vanghelin
532. Willem Casin
533. Philip Colpaert
534. Pieter Moordhoost olislaegher
535. Gillis Slimpit machon

536. Ortour de Wachtre machon
537. Jan de But machon
538. Jan de Vos dictus Veys strodecker
539. Jan Clement stroodecker
540. Jan van Sinte Truden
541. Lievin de Moorseman
542. Lippin Oste
543. Willem van den Hulle f. Wouters
544. Jan Diere
545. Heyne de Grijse
546. Lamsin Goodweet
547. Aernout van Dordrecht dit mont
548. Gillis van Hasebrouc
549. Heyne van Moorendre
550. Hannin de Ruewelmakere
551. Pieter Maes wiltwercker
552. Anse du Joris Heldebolle dochter hadden
553. Lamsin Knippin huidevetter
554. Gillis van Keygheem peinre
555. Zegher van den Busche van Gent Nayere
556. Jan van Simmersacker
557. Coppin de Hond
558. Clais Sleepstaf
559. Hannin Oste de cordouanier
560. Jan de Wilde de scrivere
561. Clais Coppin de huidewercker
562. Jacop Hooft f. Jacops

De nombre van boven geschreven personnen bede van deze boven rolle iC xvii

Andere rolle van de ballinghen

563. Boudin Wemmis
564. Rike Musche
565. Bernaerd Gallin
566. Hannin de Vriend f. Willems
567. Hannin Dankaert handscoemaker
568. Hannin de Zot kindscoemaker
569. Aernoud de Zwijnarde
570. Coppin de Popinghen
571. Hannin van Assenede f. Pieters
572. Quintin de Jchtinghem
573. Jan Capegheer cordouanier
574. Hannin van Wingheene
575. Jan Weits
576. Jan van Thoroud
577. Pieterkin de Neve
578. Willem de Neve
579. Gossin de Jchtingheem cordouanier

Alle Ghebbanen zes jaeruten lande van Vlaanderen van tensemente up den xxiiii dach Lanmaent (January) anno Lxix

Appendix 2: List of banished people from Dixmuide 1361

The following people were offered pardon in 1361 under condition that they took an oath never to rebel again against the Prince nor to make alliances with the deans of weavers. The document is preserved in the archives in Lille. Given the fact that most of these names match the ones from the pardon that was offered in 1359, it seems plausible that some other disturbances happened between 1359 and 1361.

Source reference: ADN B 1566 fol. 21-22.

14 February 1361

Dit sijn ghone van Dixmude die voortijts ghebannen waren uten lande van Vlaenderen van meuten wien mijn Here gracie ghedaen heeft de welke hem verbonden hebben ende elc zouderhaghe voor Janne den Corenlose, Clays Voet, Pieter Bonin, Lamsin de Rassche, Pieter den Keiser, Jan de Vassere, Pieter Gherolf, Clais Sconepape, Jan Relm, Jacop den Suut, Jacop van Roeselare, Willem de Breden ende Clais Brant, scepenen van Dixmude alsoot blijct biden lettren beseghelt met scepenen seghelen voorseide ghegheven den xiiii dach van sporkle int jaer mccc een ende zestech.

Teerst

1. Clais Pacelin
2. Clais van der Beke doude
3. Hannin Balkaerd
4. Coppin Balkaerd
5. Gillis Relm
6. Clais de Bune
7. Pieter Sprint
8. Hannin van Leide
9. Clais van Leide
10. Tierin Naghel
11. Christian Heem
12. Anthinis van de E
13. Claikin Pottin
14. Collin Adaem
15. Jan Ysac
16. Paulin van den Boongaerde
17. Andries Mane
18. Moenin van den Boongaerde
19. Forteneus van Zuduit
20. Michiel Molensteen
21. Rogier de Vassere
22. Jan Anfoort
23. Jan de Cupere de wevere
24. Frans Palm
25. Jacop van Zuduut
26. Jan de Suucht bi der Halle
27. Jan Kielm
28. Jan Kielm f. Pieters
29. Loy de Ionghe
30. Tierkin Tars f. Tierins
31. Hannekin Tars f. Jans
32. Jan van Cleerken
33. Jan van Cleerken de bastaerd
34. Gillis de Tolnare
35. Jan Boideman de parmentier
36. Jan Boideman de scoenmalere
37. Willem de Bomere
38. Lauwers de Bomere
39. Clays Witte
40. Arnoud Bone
41. Clays de Laye
42. Hannoot de Laye
43. Frans Baudaerd de bastaerd

44. Clays Baudaerd f. Jans
45. Willem van Sinthomaers
46. Willem Boodsaerd de bastaerd
47. Gillekin Boorsaerd f. Gillis
48. Gariet de Baertmakere
49. Jan Zeghers
50. Frans Lodewijc
51. Jake Bake
52. Willem de Ionghe
53. Barnabas de Vleeshouwere
54. Martin Cools
55. Clays van Cleerken
56. Kerstiaen Sconepape
57. Lammin Verachten
58. Willem de Buit f. Willem die met heet Vuxkin
59. Jan Bone
60. Lammekin de Keyser
61. Kerstiaen f. Lammin Zoets
62. Lievin f. Lammin Zoets
63. Vedast Masiin
64. Frans de Darsschere
65. Wouterkin Mane
66. Coppin van den Boongarde
67. Willem Clays
68. Gillis Slabbaerd
69. Andries van den Heymeldale
70. Hannin de Vulre
71. Jan de Kaesmakere
72. Jan van Viven f. Frans
73. Lammin Coudinc
74. Coolkin Coudinc
75. Willem Josep
76. Jan de Kaesmakere de wevere
77. Jan Lermin de vulre
78. Pieter Alwillems
79. Pieter de Wulf
80. Ruebin Sterus
81. Gille de Vos
82. Lammin de Vos
83. Jan Godseide de wevere
84. Jan Godzede de wulre
85. Jacop de Wulp
86. Andries Coren
87. Clays de Pottre
88. Hannekin de Pottre f. Clays
89. Jan Pinin
90. Michiel de Kerke
91. Frans Gosemarijn
92. Pieter de Visch
93. Franskin Michiel
94. Hannekin Michiel
95. Pieterkin de Raed
96. Jan de Madre zuduut
97. Jan de Drayere
98. Coppin de Drayere
99. Claikin Muesin
100. Martin de Vannemakere f. Martins
101. Willem Kitte f. Frans
102. Gille Noyd
103. Pieter van Viven
104. Willem de Hane
105. Claikin Troppineel
106. Hannin van Lonnen f. Maes
107. Andries de Hauwere
108. Gille Courtoys
109. Pieter Courtoys
110. Loy van Zarren
111. Gillis Gherard doude
112. Clais de Hukere de ionghe
113. Willem van Greweninghe doude
114. Hannin van Greweninghe f. Joris
115. Pieter Lauwerin
116. Thierin Lauwerin
117. Jan Balde
118. Hannekin Adaem
119. Jacop van Tielt
120. Pieter Cuerdin
121. Willekin Bernaers
122. Willekin Kite f. Jans
123. Jan Kite f. Jans
124. Jan Bemoot
125. Jan Lodewijc de verwere
126. Rogier Anstim
127. Clays Noid
128. Willem Dauwelin

129. Franskin de Vos f. Frans
130. Claikin de Brauwere
131. Coppin de Brauwere
132. Willem Bootsaerd
133. Jan Cansteel f. Willem
134. Kerstiaen Cansteel f. Willem
135. Willem Cansteel f. Willems
136. Zegher van Loo
137. Jan de Gheel de ionghe
138. Jan Saelgeman gheheten blaisoen
139. Hannekin Saelgeman f. Zuernits
140. Coppin Honesschegille
141. Jan Baselis
142. Jacop de Cammere
143. Jan Coren
144. Kerstiaen Lievier
145. Hannin Pluenis
146. Jan Palm
147. Jacop Eleboud f. Clays
148. Clay Eleboud f. Clays
149. Drokin Gillis
150. Willem Barenkin
151. Gherkin de Burarc
152. Kerstiaen Andries
153. Clays van den Moere
154. Jan Marteel
155. Willem Tant
156. Jan de Brune vulre
157. Andries van Lovene
158. Clays van Lovene
159. Jan van Haringhe
160. Jan Follin doude
161. Willem de Donimere
162. Hannoot de Madre
163. Jan de Madre
164. Clays Plateel
165. Thierin de Juede
166. Lammin de Visch
167. Gillis Dallin
168. Bernaerd de Moelnare
169. Jan de Baenst
170. Willem Lauwerin
171. Jacop Lemmin
172. Willem de Voghel
173. Willem Aelmare
174. Jan de Cupere vulre
175. Pieter Armoen
176. Andries Keren
177. Meus de Hertoghe
178. Ende Jan Keren

Appendix 3: Testament of Belia [Mabilia], widow of (1) John Petressone "called Everswerd," citizen and haberdasher of London; and (2) John Otemele, dated 7 April 1391, proved 15 May 1391

London Metropolitan Archives: MS 09171/001, folios 235v-236r

(Commissary Court of London wills, Register 1, folios 235v-236r)

Chronological list of related documents and relationships:

1364: Letter Book G, p. 182

Obligacio Will' i le Mayr et alior'.

Bond by Margaret, relict of **Cristian de la Bonegarde, weaver**, late of Bruges, and William St. Thomas, kinsman of the said Cristian, in the sum of £40, English coinage, in favour of *William le Mayr*, *Danyel le Hert*, **Michael Momart**, *Matthew de Wale*, *Gosewyn van Denocker*, Nicholas Plomer, and John Meryn, the same to be paid on the Feast of St. Barnabas next [11 June]. Witnesses, Geoffrey de Dittone, Richard Barber, *John Kempe*, "Levyn" (?) de Cray, *William Canell*, and others [not named]. Dated at London, 29 May, A.D. 1364. (most of these people, in italics, appear as delegates and representatives of Flemish weavers in various letters of protection or agreements between the King, the Flemish weavers and the London weavers)

Linked with this from Calendar of Patent rolls 1364-67 p. 53

Pardon of special grace to **Giles van Meth, 'Flemyng'**, of the king's suit for the death of **Christian Boengard, 'webbe', 'Flemyng'**, whereof he is indicted or appealed, and any consequent outlawry. December 1364

Oct. 1366: John Otemele stands surety for the bailiffs of the Flemish weavers in London. [Note that this does not mean that Otemele was himself a Flemish weaver.] [source: *Cal Plea & Mem Rolls 1364-81*, pp. 65-66.] (Most of the others that appear in this entry are weavers in variety of London sources, so I would say at least that he is involved in textile industry, if not weaver for sure.)

1370: Death of Michael Mummart, [source: *Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London*, ed. Fitch, vol. 1, p. 260]

Dec. 1375: "Grant and sale by John Warlok called "*Eversword*" of Zeeland to John Peterson of all his goods and chattels within the house in Candlewick Street in which he was living and elsewhere in London." Dated 10 Dec. 1375; quitclaim of the same 12 Dec. 1375. [source: *Cal Plea & Mem Rolls 1364-81*, p. 209.]

Telar' Flandr' jur'.

Friday the Feast of St. Clement [23 Nov.], the same year, Peter atte Broke and **John Fanasseverne**, Flemish weavers, elected and sworn bailiffs to govern their mistery, &c. **Letter books H 1375 p. 9-20**

26 Jan. 1381: "Grant by John Iverswerde of Zeeland, chapman, to Peter Blower, dyer, of the parish of St James Garlickhithe, of all his goods and chattels." [source: *Cal Plea and Mem Rolls, 1364-1381*, ed. A. H. Thomas, p. 284.] [It is not clear if this grantor is John Warlok or John Peterson, both of them "called Eversword."]

31 Jan. 1381: "Recognizance by the said John to the said Peter of a debt of £120 for victuals supplied to him, for payment of which he binds himself, his heirs and executors, and all his goods and chattels, present and future." [source: *Cal Plea & Mem Rolls 1364-81*, ed. A. H. Thomas, p. 284.]

c. 1384/5: Death of Peter Blower/Blawer, dyer. (His will was proved in the London Archdeaconry Court, but survives only as an entry in the table of contents; the earliest extant wills in Register 1 commence in Nov. 1393.) [source: *Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London*, ed. Fitch, vol. 1, p. 40.]

ante-Oct. 1385: Marriage of John Petressone, citizen and haberdasher, and Mabilia/Belia (maiden name unknown). [source: will of Lelia, widow of Peter Blawer' -- see below.]

13 Oct. 1385 (proved 26 Dec. 1385): Will of Lelia, widow of Peter Blawer', dyer, of London. Executors: Lelia's brother John Eversword/Eversward, and Mabilia his wife. [source: LMA, MS 09171/001, folio 137r-v]

Oct. 1385 - April 1391: Death of Mabilia/Belia's two husbands: (1) John Petressone "called Eversword," citizen and haberdasher (buried in St Martin Orgar); and (2) John Otemele. [source: will of Belia Petressone -- see below.]

7 April 1391 (proved 15 May 1391): Will of "Belia"/[Mabilia], widow of (1) John Petressone "called Everswerd," citizen and haberdasher of London (beside whom she wishes to be buried), and also widow of (2) John Otemele (occupation and place of burial unknown). No mention of children, living or dead, from either marriage. Executor: Belia's kinsman and apprentice John Olyver, to whom Belia bequeaths her unexpired term in her dwelling in Candlewick Street. [source: LMA, MS 09171/001, folios 235v-236r]

[*folio 235v*]

In the name of God, amen. **I, Belia, who was the wife of John Petressone, called "Everswerd," late citizen and *haberdasshere* of London**, being sound in mind and in my good memory, the 7th day of April, AD 1391, 14 Richard II [=***7 April 1391***], establish, make, and ordain my present testament in this manner:

1. Firstly, I leave and commend my soul to God, and to the blessed Mary his mother, and to all the saints, and my body **to be buried in the church of St. Martin Orgar *iuxta Candelwykstrete*, London, namely, "annex'" to the body of the said John, late my husband**.

2. To the **new work of the said church**, 40d.

3. To the **high altar of the said church, for my forgotten oblations**, 3s. 4d.

4. To the **light of the Holy Cross on the high beam in the same church**, 12d.

5. To the **old work of the church of St. Paul, London**, 3s. 4d.

6. To **the Carmelite friars of *Fletestrete***, London, 3s. 4d. for a trental for my soul.

7. I leave 4 pounds sterling to be done ("faciend'") and distributed among **paupers** for my soul and for the souls of my husbands, of our parents ("parentumque nostrorum"), and of all those to whom I am bound, and of all the faithful departed.

8. To **Katherine my sister**, 16 pounds, 6 silver spoons, 1 mazer, 1 feather bed, 2 pair of sheets, 2 *chalones*, 2 *pelughes*, all my clothes ("pannos") for my body, and all my "capitergia," except for the "pannos" and "capitergia" bequeathed below.

9. To **William Mummard[?] my kinsman**, 60 shillings sterling, and to each of his children ("liberorum"), 6s. 8d.

10. To **Katherine, wife of the said William Mummard**[?], 1 *kertel* of red color, and 1 *courtepi* of *sangueyn*.

11. To **Margaret the wife of John van Seuerne**, "vnum capitergium de optimis meis capitergijs."

12. To **John son of the said John van Severne, my godson**, 6s. 8d.

13. To "**cuidam vocato Fulkwyk** vnum capitergium meum de *parysthred*."

14. To **William *atte Dragon***, 13s. 4d., so that he may supervise what good and faithful administration be done of my goods.

15. To **Richard Meryweder**, 6s. 8d. on the same condition.

[*In left margin of above page, approximately beside Clauses 6-8*:]

"habet ac

facta est

collacio"

[***folio 236r***]

16. **To the kinsmen ("cognatis") of John Otemele, my second husband**, 40s. sterling to be divided among them, on condition that they hold themselves well contented for their part concerning the goods of the same John Otemele, otherwise they will have nothing by my legacy.

17. In the same manner I leave 4 marks sterling to be divided among the "**gentes de parentel' dicti Johannis Petressone nuper mariti mei**," so that they hold themselves well contented for their part concerning the goods of the same John Petressone, otherwise they will have nothing by my legacy.

18. The residue of all my goods, chattels, and debts, wheresoever they be, I leave wholly to **John Oliuer my kinsman and apprentice**, without any inventory to be made thereof, to bury my body and to pay my debts wherein I am bound, and to do for me as he

would wish that I would do for him in the same case ("et ad faciend' pro me sicut vellet quod fecerem pro illo in eodem casu").

19. I leave to **the same John Olyuer** all my terms to come of my house ("mansionis mee") in which I dwell in *Candelwykstrete*, London. I also leave and remit to the same John Olyuer all my terms to come of his apprenticeship.

20. I pardon to **Alice Balewalke** 6s. 8d. of the debt that she owes to me.

21. Of this my testament I make and constitute the said **John Olyuer my executor, and as his supervisors the said William *atte Dragon* and Richard Meryweder**.

In witness whereof I have put my seal to this present testament. Given at London, the day and year aforesaid.

This present testament was proved before us, "Presidente Cons*istorio*[?]" at London, 17 Kal. June, AD 1391 [=***15 May 1391***]. And administration of all the goods and of all things concerning the testament of the deceased was committed to the executor named in the testament "in forma iuris et per eundem admissa." In witness whereof, the seal of the Official of London was appended to these presents. Given at London, the day and year abovesaid.

[END]

Appendix 4: Wills of native weavers and fullers consulted at London Metropolitan Archives 1374-90

LMA MS 9171/1

The following list represents references to the wills and parishes of burial of the native weavers and fullers in London in order to demonstrate their proximity from the parishes where the Flemings lived. This is to be linked with the contents of the chapter four and the fortunes of the Flemish community in England during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

Weavers

Simon atte Gate, St. Martin Orgar, 1380 fol° 70v

William Beltone, 1390, St. Mary Woolnot fol° 203v

Robert Bolle, 1379, St. Gab and St Marg fol. 60

John Consell, woolworker, 1390, St. Gab. fol. 206

Thomas Reymond, webster 1390, St Mary Ludgate, fol. 216

Fullers

William Motishunte, St. Andrew Hubbert, 1380 fol° 71

John Olescombe, All Hallows London Wall, 1390 fol° 201v

William Dodder, St. Botolph Bishopsgate, 1386 fol° 140v

Thomas Clerk, All Hallows the Great, 1394, fol° 303v

John Dorsete, St. Mary Somersete, 1377 fol° 49

Richard Haye, St. Mary Woolchurch, 1390, fol° 209v

Milan PAJIC

The Migration of Flemish Weavers in the Fourteenth Century : the Economic Influence and Transfer of Skills 1331-1381

Résumé : Mots clefs : Immigration, bannissement, Flandre, Angleterre, Histoire urbaine.

Au cours du XIVe siècle, Edouard III a émis plusieurs lettres de protection aux drapiers flamands pour qu'ils puissent s'installer en Angleterre et y poursuivre leur activité artisanale. Dans les siècles qui ont suivi, la contribution de ces immigrants au développement de l'industrie textile en Angleterre a engendré un vif débat entre les historiens. En effet, cette migration flamande a été étudiée jusqu'à présent seulement à travers le spectre de sa contribution économique et non sous l'angle de la vie quotidienne des immigrants. Afin de combler cette lacune, cette étude a pour objectif de présenter un état de la question sur les problèmes d'intégration qu'un groupe d'immigrants, qui a été forcé de fuir son propre pays, a pu rencontrer au XIVe siècle à travers les microcosmes des villes de Londres, de Colchester et de Great Yarmouth.

Résumé en anglais :

Throughout the fourteenth century, Edward III issued several letters of protection encouraging Flemish textile workers to establish their trade in England. In the centuries that followed, the newcomers' contribution to the development of the English drapery has triggered off a hot debate. Indeed, until now, this migration has been studied only through its economic aspects, and no attention has been paid to the daily life of the migrants. This study purports to fill a critical gap as it expounds the difficult integration process of a migrant community, which was forced to leave its own country, and focuses on the microcosm of London, Colchester and Great Yarmouth in the fourteenth century.